

EXHIBIT 3

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Page 1

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON
2 UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
3 NORTHERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA
4 SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION
5 - - -

6 IN RE: UBER : Case No.
7 TECHNOLOGIES, INC., : 3:23-md-03084-
8 PASSENGER SEXUAL ASSAULT : CRB (LJC
9 LITIGATION :
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12 REMOTE DEPOSITION OF
13 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON
14 - - -

15 Taken remotely, via Zoom, on
16 Wednesday, November 12th, 2025, beginning at
17 2:13 p.m., before Beau Dillard, RPR, a Notary
18 Public in and for the Commonwealth of
19 Pennsylvania.
20 - - -

21 VERITEXT LEGAL SOLUTIONS
22 MID-ATLANTIC REGION
23 - - -
24
25 Job No. CS7737764

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Page 2

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Page 3

1	DR. LINDSEY CAMERON		
2	I N D E X		
3	- - -		
4	EXAMINATION	PAGE	
5	DR. LINDSEY CAMERON		
6	BY MR. WYATT	9	
7	BY MS. POLLOCK	291	
8	- - -		
9	E X H I B I T S		
10	- - -		
11	NUMBER	DESCRIPTION	PAGE
12	Exhibit 1	TAB 01 - 20251024	
13		Cameron Rebuttal Report	11
14			
15	Exhibit 2	TAB 02 - CameronInvoice	
16		SimmonsFinal Amount 26AUG25	18
17			
18	Exhibit 3	TAB 03 - 20251105 Defendants	
19		Notice of Deposition for	
20		Dr Lindsey Cameron (MDL)	25
21			
22	Exhibit 4	TAB 03A - LindseyCameronCV -	
23		Statement CV 2	27
24			
25			

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 4

	DR. LINDSEY CAMERON		
1	NUMBER	DESCRIPTION	PAGE
2	Exhibit 5	TAB 03B - 20251110 Responses and Objections to NOD of Cameron	
3			30
4			
5	Exhibit 6	Cameron Harvard Blitz 6APR	32
6			
7	Exhibit 7	TAB 05 - 2021 Testimony	59
8			
9	Exhibit 8	CameronInvoiceRetainer	84
10			
11	Exhibit 9	TAB 07 - L Cameron dissertation	
12			114
13			
14	Exhibit 10	TAB 13 - Algorithmic Management - Its Implications for Information Systems Research	142
15			
16			
17			
18			
19			
20	Exhibit 11	TAB 09 - Support for Social and Cultural Capital (2018) Kameswaran-Cameron-Dillahunt (003)	156
21			
22			
23			
24			
25			

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 5

	DR. LINDSEY CAMERON		
1	NUMBER	DESCRIPTION	PAGE
2	Exhibit 12	TAB 10 - 20250926 Expert Report	
3		Joseph Okpaku (MDL 23-03084)	162
4			
5			
6	Exhibit 13	TAB 17 -what-is-qualitative	
7		-research -an-overview-	
8		and-guidelines	184
9		- - -	
10			
11			
12			
13			
14			
15			
16			
17			
18			
19			
20			
21			
22			
23			
24			
25			

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Page 6

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON
2 DEPOSITION SUPPORT INDEX
3

4 DIRECTION TO WITNESS NOT TO ANSWER

5 Page Line

6 None

7

8 REQUEST FOR PRODUCTION OF DOCUMENTS

9 Page Line Description
10 None

11 40 22 Materials Provided

12

13 STIPULATIONS

14 Page Line

15 7 1

16

17 QUESTIONS MARKED

18 Page Line

19 None

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21

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23

24

25

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Page 7

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 - - -

3 The attorneys participating in
4 this deposition acknowledge that the
5 court stenographer is not physically
6 present in the deposition room and that
7 he will be reporting this deposition
8 remotely.9 They further acknowledge that,
10 in lieu of an oath administered in
11 person, the oath will be administered
12 remotely. The parties and their counsel
13 consent to this arrangement and waive any
14 objections to this manner of reporting.15 The attorneys have indicated
16 their agreement to the above stipulation
17 off the stenographic record.18 It is stipulated and agreed to
19 by and between counsel for the respective
20 parties that all objections, except as to
21 form of the question, are reserved to the
22 time of trial.

23 - - -

24

25

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Page 8

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 - - -

3 THE VIDEOGRAPHER:

4 Good afternoon. We are going on
5 the record at 2:13 p.m., on Wednesday,
6 November 12th, 2025.

7 This is Media Unit Number 1 of
8 the video-recorded deposition of
9 Lindsey Cameron taken by counsel in the
10 matter of In Re: Uber Rideshare cases
11 filed in the United States District Court
12 for the Northern District of California,
13 San Francisco Division.

14 My name is Ben Pelta-Heller,
15 representing Veritext, I'm the
16 videographer. The court reporter is
17 Beau Dillard from the firm Veritext.

18 Counsel and all present,
19 including remotely, will now state their
20 appearances and affiliations for the
21 record, and will the reporter please
22 swear in the witness.

23 MS. POLLOCK: Did we say counsel
24 was entering their name?

25 Oh, I thought we weren't.

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Page 9

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 This is Jo Anna Pollock from
3 Simmons Hanly Conroy. Along with me
4 today is Kirstina Berkover, and we are
5 representing the Plaintiffs in the MDL.

6 MR. WYATT: And Geoffrey Wyatt
7 from Kirkland & Ellis, with me is
8 Katie O'Neill on behalf of Uber and the
9 Uber Defendants.

10 - - -

11 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON, after
12 having been first duly sworn, was
13 examined and testified as follows:

14 - - -

15 EXAMINATION

16 - - -

17 BY MR. WYATT:

18 Q. Good afternoon.

19 A. Good afternoon.

20 Q. Could you please state your full
21 name for the record?

22 A. Lindsey Denise Cameron.

23 Q. And is it okay if I refer to you
24 as Dr. Cameron this afternoon?

25 A. That would be great.

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Page 10

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Q. And you understand you were
3 sworn in, you're testifying under oath today,
4 correct?

5 A. Yes.

6 Q. Okay. Let's see if I can figure
7 out how to introduce an exhibit.

8 A. Can you give me one second?

9 It's not letting me see you.

10 Q. Understood.

11 No problem.

12 MS. POLLOCK: Yeah.

13 That's up there.

14 THE WITNESS: Yeah.

15 But it's not big.

16 MS. POLLOCK: Yeah.

17 It's pinned on you.

18 THE WITNESS: I don't want that.

19 Is that not possible?

20 MR. WYATT: Can we go off the
21 record for a minute?

22 I'm fine to sort this out.

23 THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Going off the
24 video record. The time is 2:15 p.m.

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Page 11

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 - - -

3 (Whereupon, a recess took place
4 from 2:15 p.m. to 2:16 p.m.).

5 - - -

6 THE VIDEOGRAPHER: We are back
7 on the video record.

8 The time is 2:16 p.m.

9 BY MR. WYATT:

10 Q. Welcome back.

11 I'm going to mark your report as
12 Exhibit 1.

13 - - -

14 (Whereupon the document was
15 marked, for identification purposes, as
16 Exhibit Number 1.)

17 - - -

18 BY MR. WYATT:

19 Q. And that should be available to
20 you in the share folder now. And I'll also put
21 it on the screen.

22 A. I also have a written copy right
23 in front of me.

24 Q. Okay. Same version that would
25 have been served on October 24th, 2025?

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Page 12

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 A. Yes. Same version.

3 Q. Okay. Great.

4 And if we scoot down to Page 60,
5 is that your signature right there?

6 A. Yes.

7 Q. Okay. So this is your report,
8 assuming this is the same PDF as the paper
9 you've got there?

10 A. Yes, sir.

11 Q. It's Exhibit 1. Okay. Great.

12 Do you believe, as of today,
13 that the report is still accurate?

14 A. Yes.

15 Q. And are all the opinions that
16 you plan to give at trial in this matter
17 contained in your report?

18 A. There are some other, like,
19 supplemental citations I may think to mention,
20 but my opinion hasn't substantially change.

21 Q. Okay. And thanks for that.

22 Do you have any specific
23 additional citations in mind or these are
24 things that may occur as we work through
25 things?

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Page 13

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 A. I have two in mind and then
3 there's some that might just occur.

4 Q. Okay. Do you want to share
5 those two that you have in mind right now, and
6 I can just take a note?

7 A. Right. One is by -- it's two
8 authors. I'm forgetting the name of the first,
9 the name of the second author is Johnston. I
10 think it's 2019, 2020, and it's a critique of
11 the Holland Kruger study in 2018 that
12 Joseph Okpaku cited.

13 So in my rebuttal I mentioned
14 that report, that that citation of
15 Holland Kruger had been criticized by some
16 academics, but I didn't mention actual
17 academics who criticized it. So that site that
18 I just mentioned, the Johnston one, is a
19 critique of that.

20 And then the other report I was
21 going to mention, I think it is Maffie 2023,
22 British Journal of Industrial Relations, it
23 talks about big data and theologizing source of
24 corporate power, and there he makes the
25 argument that Uber and researchers will have

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Page 14

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 the same data, you know, if Uber -- (inaudible)
3 has a set of researchers, but they'll set
4 different parameters and do different
5 statistical tests which have been made
6 different conclusions for their data.

7 So, they're -- I think they're
8 points in the paper where I sort of talk about
9 this without any additional citation, so those
10 are the two additional citations I would have
11 added to my report.

12 Q. And so, just to clarify, in the
13 second citation, I understand how the first one
14 fits in.

15 The second one, though, you're
16 saying you make points in the report about how
17 different researchers will interpret the same
18 data in different ways and this report supports
19 that or is it something else?

20 A. It's a different support -- it's
21 a different point that it would support, and
22 I'm not entirely sure where in the report I
23 actually make this argument, but it's probably
24 in something where I talk about how Uber uses
25 data in a very selective fashion or has been

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Page 15

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON
2 criticized about the way it uses its data, and
3 I would have cited that -- that Maffie piece
4 there.

5 So it could have -- it wouldn't
6 exactly have gone with the rebuttal to Okpaku,
7 but it's related to it. It's where --
8 (inaudible) -- places I would have put that
9 citation at.

10 Q. And what made you think of
11 Maffie 2023, if anything?

12 A. Why?

13 I just -- I reread it recently,
14 maybe about two weeks ago and realized it fit.
15 I had seen the paper before, but I hadn't
16 really thought about it deeply and then I was,
17 like, oh, right, that would have been a good
18 report -- a good paper to cite.

19 Q. Okay. And do you have any
20 current plans to supplement your report or make
21 any changes to it, before trial?

22 A. No.

23 Q. Okay. Beg your pardon?

24 A. I said, no, I don't currently
25 have any plans.

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Page 16

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Q. Okay. And I know you've been
3 deposed before.

4 Is that right?

5 A. Yes.

6 Q. And so you're familiar with how
7 the process works -- and verbal answers, and
8 yeses and noes rather than uh-uh and uh-huhs.

9 A. I'm going to do my best and try
10 not to talk too fast for the court reporter.

11 Q. I'll make the same pledge
12 because I have the same problem, and I will
13 also pledge not to -- or try, I will pledge to
14 try to not talk over you.

15 Sometimes I get excited,
16 sometimes witnesses get excited, I won't be
17 offended if you do it, please don't be offended
18 if I do it, but to make the court reporter's
19 job easier, let's try to give each other space
20 between questions and answers.

21 A. Okay.

22 Q. And if -- if you answer a
23 question, I'll assume that you understood the
24 question that I asked.

25 Is that okay?

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Page 17

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 A. That's fair.

3 Q. And, of course, therefore, if
4 you don't understand a question or you have a
5 question about the question, please raise that
6 and I'll do my best to rephrase.

7 Is anything preventing you from
8 giving truthful or accurate testimony today?

9 A. No.

10 Q. All right.

11 Breaks, if you need a break,
12 just let me know. My only request is that if
13 I've asked a question, that you give the answer
14 before we take the break.

15 I generally go about an hour and
16 then take breaks, but happy to go longer,
17 shorter, whatever is necessary, just let me
18 know.

19 A. Okay.

20 Q. Where are you physically located
21 today?

22 A. Philadelphia.

23 Q. Okay. Is anybody there -- well,
24 I know your counsel is there with you, is that
25 right, Jo Anna Pollock?

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Page 18

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 A. Correct.

3 Q. Is there anybody else in the
4 room with the two of you?

5 A. No.

6 Q. And you mentioned you have your
7 report printed out with you.

8 Are there any other materials
9 with you, either printed out or at your
10 fingertips on your computer there?

11 A. My laptop is in front of me.

12 Q. Okay. Do you have any materials
13 pulled up on the laptop for use at today's
14 deposition?

15 A. No.

16 Q. Okay. All right.

17 So let me do the next exhibit,
18 give me a minute.

19 - - -

20 (Whereupon the document was
21 marked, for identification purposes, as
22 Exhibit Number 2.)

23 - - -

24 BY MR. WYATT:

25 Q. This will be Exhibit 2.

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Page 19

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 I'll put this on screen. Okay.

3 Can you see what I marked as

4 Exhibit 2 on the screen?

5 A. I can see it.

6 Q. And is this your invoice?

7 A. Yes.

8 Q. And it's dated, it looks like,

9 August 26th, 2025.

10 Is that right?

11 A. Yes.

12 Q. Is this the only invoice you've
13 sent to Plaintiffs so far for this case?

14 A. No. There was an invoice where
15 I sent the retainer, so that's in that second
16 line.

17 Q. I see, but is it all -- so that
18 would have been a separate document or is
19 this -- would it be a single document that
20 reflects everything?

21 A. No. It would have been a second
22 document. So I was paid \$7,500 before, and
23 they --

24 Q. Okay.

25 A. -- when I sent the invoice.

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Page 20

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Q. Okay.

3 And do you intend to submit any
4 additional invoices for your work on the report
5 or any other work after August 26th?

6 A. Yes.

7 Q. Do you have an estimate as to
8 the number of hours that would be reflected in
9 that next invoice, as of this morning, before
10 this deposition started?

11 A. No more than 20 hours.

12 Q. Okay. And just looking at the
13 invoice here, it looks like it spans
14 June 24th -- I'm sorry. Scratch that.

15 Looking at the invoice, it looks
16 like it spans from June 18, 2024, through the
17 22nd of August. And I assume that's, 2025.

18 Is that correct?

19 A. Correct.

20 Q. Okay. So 58.5 hours is the time
21 you spent working from June 2024 through
22 August 2025.

23 Is that accurate?

24 A. Yes.

25 Q. Okay.

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Page 21

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 So were you retained in June of
3 2024?

4 A. What exactly does retained mean?

5 Q. Were -- when were you hired by
6 these Plaintiff's Counsel for this case?

7 A. I -- somewhere between May and
8 June, because that was when the first invoice
9 was sent.

10 Q. Okay. And somewhere between
11 May and June of 2024, last year.

12 Is that correct?

13 A. Yes.

14 Q. Okay. And there's no time
15 breakdown here. Do you have a sense of when
16 these 58.5 hours billed here, were worked?

17 A. They were -- they were worked
18 over that entire timeframe, from June 2024 to
19 August 2025.

20 Q. Okay. So was it, like, sort of
21 a gradual work process or were there certain
22 months that were busier than others in that
23 timeframe?

24 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

25 THE WITNESS: The summertime was

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Page 22

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 busier -- the summer of 2025 was busier
3 than previously.

4 BY MR. WYATT:

5 Q. Okay.

6 And what did that work consist
7 of?

8 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

9 THE WITNESS: In summer 2025?

10 BY MR. WYATT:

11 Q. Yes.

12 A. I read a lot of documents. I
13 met a lot with Jo Anna and people in her firm.
14 I wrote a lot of text. I would say that's a
15 lot that happened in the summer of 2025.

16 Q. Okay. And what about before
17 summer of 2025? What would you work on during
18 that period?

19 A. We did meetings.

20 I can't remember if I looked at
21 any documents before summer of 2025. If I did,
22 there weren't that many and the meetings were a
23 mix of in-person and virtual.

24 Q. Okay. When you mentioned that
25 you had read a lot of documents during the

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Page 23

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 summer of 2025, what kind of documents were you
3 talking about?

4 A. All the documents that are
5 referenced in my report.

6 Q. And by documents, are you
7 including documents produced in the litigation
8 and literature or one or the other?

9 A. So I read literature all the
10 time. I mean, I've studied Uber for almost ten
11 years, so I'm always in the literature,
12 thinking about the gig economy, so that doesn't
13 have a time window.

14 So I would say the documents
15 that I read a lot in the summer of 2025 were
16 related to this case, specifically.

17 Q. Okay. And were the 58.5 hours
18 listed here, inclusive of all the time you
19 spent drafting your report in this case?

20 A. No.

21 Q. Okay. So some of the report
22 work continued past August 22nd.

23 Is that correct?

24 A. Correct.

25 Q. Do you know how much was after

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Page 24

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 August 22nd versus before?

3 A. Roughly 10 to 12.

4 Q. And what's the unit on 10 to 12?

5 A. Hours.

6 Q. Hours. Okay. Okay.

7 A. And -- but that's just writing
8 the report. I mean, there's also a lot of this
9 me being in the literature and constantly
10 updating ideas that shape the report.

11 So I would say those 10 to 12
12 hours is the actual -- maybe that's just
13 writing, but the extra thinking that went into
14 what you saw between 22 August and whenever
15 this report was finished, was much greater than
16 10 to 12 hours.

17 Q. Understood. That makes sense.

18 And your report is titled,
19 A Rebuttal to Mr. Okapaku's Report.

20 Is that right?

21 A. I'm looking for the title.

22 Yes. That's what it says.
23 Report -- well, it just says Rebuttal Report of
24 Lindsey D. Cameron, Ph.D.

25 Q. Okay. That's fair.

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Page 25

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Mr. Okapaku's name is not on the
3 title, but it's titled The Rebuttal Report.

4 Is that correct?

5 A. Exactly.

6 Q. Okay. And what prompted you to
7 issue an invoice at the end of August?

8 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

9 THE WITNESS: My work on the
10 case was paused.

11 BY MR. WYATT:

12 Q. Okay. Let me pull this down.

13 MR. WYATT: I'm going to
14 introduce the notice of deposition as
15 Exhibit 3. I'll share that as well.

16 - - -

17 (Whereupon the document was
18 marked, for identification purposes, as
19 Exhibit Number 3.)

20 - - -

21 BY MR. WYATT:

22 Q. Okay.

23 Can you see this on the screen?

24 A. Yes.

25 Q. And this is titled, "Notice of

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Page 26

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Remote Videotaped Deposition of Dr. Lindsey
3 Cameron."

4 Do you see that?

5 A. Yes.

6 Q. Have you seen this document
7 before today?

8 A. I think it was emailed to me.

9 I have -- let me --

10 MS. POLLOCK: Don't check your
11 emails.

12 THE WITNESS: No. I'm not
13 checking my emails. I'm scanning for the
14 document.

15 BY MR. WYATT:

16 Q. If we scan to the fourth page,
17 it's got a list of requests that you might have
18 seen or focused on previously.

19 A. Yes. I have seen this before.

20 Q. Okay. And let me just start --
21 I'm going to switch, actually, to the responses
22 in this document, but we'll start here.

23 So if you look at
24 Question Number 1, it says, "Your current and
25 up-to-date resume or Curriculum Vitae, to the

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Page 27

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON
2 extent the prior CV you produced in this action
3 is no longer current and up-to-date."

4 Do you see that?

5 A. Yes.

6 MR. WYATT: And we'll mark this
7 exhibit -- oops. I'm not doing it that
8 way. Exhibit 4.

9 - - -
10 (Whereupon the document was
11 marked, for identification purposes, as
12 Exhibit Number 4.)

13 - - -
14 BY MR. WYATT:

15 Q. And in response to our notice of
16 deposition and those requests, we -- we
17 received this copy of your CV, which is
18 20 pages long.

19 Is this a current CV for you?

20 A. It's been updated since then.

21 Q. Okay. And what's been added
22 since then?

23 A. One of those papers was
24 accepted. So if you scroll up, I can give you
25 the number.

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Page 28

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Q. Sure.

3 A. Paper -- Paper 2.

4 Q. Is this Manuscripts Under Review
5 or further up?

6 A. No. All the way up. Number 2.

7 Q. Oh, I see.

8 Number 2 under Peer-Reviewed
9 Publications?

10 A. Yeah.

11 Q. Okay. And you're saying this
12 has been -- subsequent to this CV then being
13 produced, that was published or that was the
14 change from the original CV that you attached
15 to your report?

16 A. Oh, that paper was just
17 accepted, I think, yesterday. So it's been --

18 Q. Okay.

19 A. Yeah. It's been updated on my
20 website now.

21 Q. Okay. Great.

22 And do you know what difference,
23 if any, there was between the CV that we
24 received the other day and the one that would
25 have been attached to your report at the end of

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Page 29

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 October?

3 A. Oh, probably -- I don't think
4 either Number 1 or Number 2 were accepted at
5 the end of October.

6 And I also think there's one on
7 number -- Number 20, might not have come back
8 second-round review yet.

9 No. Number -- no -- number --
10 do you see there's two number 20s, there's a
11 typo?

12 Q. Oh, yeah. Uh-huh. Okay.

13 A. So the second Number 20, I don't
14 think that had come -- oh. Okay. That had --
15 that looks like that's updated. Okay then.

16 But on my website, my most
17 up-to-date version of the CV is there all the
18 time.

19 MS. POLLOCK: That's what this
20 is.

21 THE WITNESS: Oh, then I have a
22 typo? Then thank you for letting me
23 know.

24 BY MR. WYATT:

25 Q. Happy to help.

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Page 30

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 MS. POLLOCK: Just for
3 everyone's benefit, I pulled this off of
4 your website yesterday or two days ago,
5 just so that everyone is on the same
6 page.

7 MR. WYATT: Okay.

8 Appreciate that clarification.

9 All right.

10 So let me take that down.

11 BY MR. WYATT:

12 Q. And then I'll introduce this as
13 Exhibit 5.

14 - - -

15 (Whereupon the document was
16 marked, for identification purposes, as
17 Exhibit Number 5.)

18 - - -

19 BY MR. WYATT:

20 Q. And can you see that on the
21 screen?

22 A. Yes.

23 Q. Okay. And this one is called,
24 "Plaintiff's Responses and Objections to
25 Defendant's Notice of Remote Videotaped

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Page 31

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Deposition of Lindsey Cameron."

3 Have you seen this document
4 before?

5 A. I'm not sure.

6 Q. Yeah. I'll represent to you
7 that this is -- Plaintiff's take our notice and
8 then they put responses to it and then this is
9 what that document looks like, and I just have
10 a couple questions.

11 I'll -- I'll further represent
12 that it repeats the requests that are set forth
13 in the notice that we just looked at, so rather
14 than bouncing back and forth between the two
15 documents, I'll just read off of this one and
16 ask you some questions about it.

17 So we just looked at
18 Request Number 1, just to illustrate what I was
19 just talking about, your current and up-to-date
20 resume or CV.

21 Do you see that right there?

22 A. Yes.

23 Q. And then the response is,
24 "Documents were produced and since it's been
25 updated, Plaintiff will produce," and we just

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Page 32

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 looked at that, right?

3 A. Yes.

4 Q. Okay.

5 So moving on to

6 Request Number 2, which tracks, again, the
7 Number 2 request from the notice, "A list of
8 all articles, abstracts, studies, reports,
9 seminar materials, and so on, authored or
10 co-authored by You in the last ten years,
11 including the name of the article, the name of
12 the publication and the date it was published."

13 Do you see that?

14 A. Yes.

15 Q. And then in the response is,
16 "Subject to objections, documents responsive to
17 this request were previously produced. In
18 addition, Plaintiff will produce one additional
19 presentation not publically available."

20 Do you see that?

21 A. Yes.

22 Q. Okay. And then -- okay.

23 - - -

24 (Whereupon the document was
25 marked, for identification purposes, as

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Page 33

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Exhibit Number 6.)

3 - - -

4 BY MR. WYATT:

5 Q. And then I just introduced -- it
6 didn't let me stamp it, but I introduced what I
7 received this morning as Exhibit 6, which I'll
8 put on the screen.

9 A. I see it.

10 Q. Okay. Great.

11 And is this that document?

12 A. Yes.

13 Q. And it looks like it's a
14 PowerPoint dated April 6th, 2017, entitled
15 driver -- "Driving as Women's Work: Insights
16 from Ridehailing Industry."

17 Is that right?

18 A. Yes.

19 Q. What can you tell us about this
20 presentation?

21 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

22 THE WITNESS: So this -- this, I
23 think, was mistakenly cited in my
24 references, my work cited, but it's not
25 actually used in my report to make an

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Page 34

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 argument, so it's just -- it's a typo,
3 but because it was part of my references,
4 Jo Anna asked me to give you a copy of
5 the presentation, which I have now
6 shared.7 It's a conference on gender, so
8 I was thinking about how can my research
9 fit? And in it I talk about the
10 different smells that are in an Uber car
11 and how people have to police the smells
12 to make sure they smell nice, and so I
13 talk about odor work is a feminized form
14 of work.

15 BY MR. WYATT:

16 Q. Okay. And so this is not
17 something that you're relying on for your
18 opinions in this case, it's just cited by
19 accident, so in full disclosure you have
20 provided it to us.

21 Is that a fair summary?

22 A. Yes. That's it exactly.

23 Q. Okay. So we'll put that away.
24 And then returning to our
25 Exhibit 5 here.

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Page 35

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Request Number 3 is, "A list of
3 all cases, other than this one, in which You
4 have, during the past four years, provided to
5 the court or to counsel an expert disclosure or
6 expert report, or in which You have given a
7 deposition or testified in court."

8 Do you see that?

9 A. Yes.

10 Q. And there is a list of testimony
11 provided in Exhibit C to your expert report,
12 which is Exhibit 1 for this deposition.

13 Is that list still complete?

14 A. Yes.

15 Q. Okay. And we'll talk about that
16 a little more in a minute.

17 Request Number 4 was, "To the
18 extent not previously produced, all invoices,
19 bills, billing records, time records and
20 expense records connected with your involvement
21 in the action."

22 Do you see that?

23 A. Yes.

24 Q. And we discussed the one invoice
25 that's been produced so far already, right?

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Page 36

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 A. No. There were two, because
3 there would be the first one I sent for the
4 retainer.

5 Q. Well, that's right. There are
6 two, but we also looked at -- there's only been
7 one produced to me and we discussed that one,
8 correct?

9 A. Okay. Yes.

10 We talked about the one you
11 showed me.

12 Q. Okay. And are there any other
13 time records or billing records that you have,
14 that set forth more detail or different
15 information than what's been produced so far?

16 A. I keep track of hours on, like,
17 a little note pad and then I add them all up to
18 put in the invoice.

19 Q. Okay.

20 A. But there's no -- there's
21 nothing more than that, it's just one, two,
22 three, you know, it's just numbers.

23 Q. Okay. And then Request Number 5
24 says, "To the extent not previously produced,
25 all consulting contracts or retention letters

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 37

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON
2 concerning your involvement in this action
3 between you and any other person or entity,
4 including but not limited to the Plaintiff's
5 lawyers and any other organization."

6 Do you see that?

7 A. Yes.

8 Q. And then it says, see response
9 to Request Number 4 as the response.

10 Do you see that?

11 A. Yes.

12 Q. So we do not, as a part of the
13 response to Number 4, receive any contracts or
14 retention letters.

15 Do you have a contract or
16 retention letter for this case?

17 A. I actually have no idea.

18 Q. Okay.

19 A. And --

20 Q. Go ahead.

21 MS. POLLOCK: Oh, I was -- I was
22 just going to -- we filed objections and
23 there's a stipulation on this point, I
24 believe, in agreement amongst the Parties
25 that we can talk about, but they haven't

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Page 38

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 been produced for any of the experts.

3 MR. WYATT: Got it. Okay.

4 MS. POLLOCK: And I'm trying to
5 find that additional invoice for you, but
6 it slipped by me and I'm trying to track
7 it down.

8 MR. WYATT: Okay. Great.

9 BY MR. WYATT:

10 Q. For Number 6, any final reports,
11 final declarations, final outlines or other
12 final writings. And it says, "subject to the
13 foregoing objections, the documents responsive
14 to this request have been previously produced."

15 Is that a reference to your
16 report?

17 A. I don't understand the question.

18 Q. Is -- are there any other final
19 reports that you have or other final documents,
20 apart from your report?

21 A. No. This is the only finished
22 product I have.

23 Q. Okay. And then, Number 7, "All
24 documents, materials or things relied upon by
25 You as the basis for Your opinions in this

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Page 39

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Action."

3 And the response is, "There are
4 no responsive documents that are not already in
5 Defendant's possession or otherwise equally
6 accessible to it. The documents produced in
7 this litigation that were considered or relied
8 upon by expert in forming her opinions are
9 cited in the report or attachments thereto.
10 Other non-litigation documents listed in the
11 report are publically available or already in
12 Defendant's possession."

13 Do you see that?

14 A. Yes.

15 Q. And that -- is that referring to
16 the footnotes and other citations in the body
17 of your report and also Exhibit B, which is
18 called Materials Considered?

19 A. That's what I believe that's
20 referring to.

21 Q. Okay. And if -- if you relied
22 on something and you -- you raised a couple of
23 documents at the start, if you relied on
24 something, would I expect to find it either
25 cited in the report itself or in Attachment B

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Page 40

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 or else among those two documents we started
3 the deposition off with?

4 A. Yes. Though, I do want to say,
5 I reviewed, I think, a few depositions that I
6 didn't have a chance to look at thoroughly, so
7 I don't think we included that.

8 I don't think it's included as
9 materials I considered in this report.

10 Q. Okay.

11 A. And I -- honestly believe it
12 shaped my opinion, because I can't even
13 remember who the individuals were.

14 Q. That anticipates my next
15 question. So you can't remember any names of
16 the depositions you reviewed?

17 A. If I told you they were
18 employees of Uber, that wouldn't be very
19 helpful, right?

20 Q. I mean, it would narrow it down
21 slightly, but only slightly.

22 MR. WYATT: Counsel, can you
23 provide us a list of materials you
24 provided the Witness that she considered
25 or skimmed, whatever --

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Page 41

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 MS. POLLOCK: Yeah.

3 That's a distinction, skimmed
4 versus actually considered, and so

5 I'll -- I'll follow up with you on it.

6 MR. WYATT: Yeah.

7 MS. POLLOCK: I'll track them
8 down and see what it's about.

9 MR. WYATT: Okay.

10 BY MR. WYATT:

11 Q. Give me a minute here. Sorry.

12 Get back on track.

13 Number 8 says, "All documents,
14 materials, notes, transcriptions, audio
15 recordings, survey responses, financial diaries
16 and analyses related to Your "in-depth
17 semi-structured interviews" conducted while
18 researching drivers on ridesharing platforms
19 including, but not limited to those related to
20 Your training and work as a ride-hailing driver
21 in the Washington, D.C. metro area, that form
22 the basis for your opinions on algorithmic
23 management and control."

24 Do you see that?

25 A. Yes.

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Page 42

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Q. Then the response was,

3 "Plaintiff also specifically objects to this
4 request on the grounds that it seeks
5 information protected from disclosure,
6 including by the Institutional Review Board."

7 Do you see that?

8 A. Yes.

9 Q. We'll talk a little more about
10 this in your report.

11 Do you rely, in your report, on
12 the semi-structured interviews and other
13 conversations you had with drivers, as part of
14 your research, in formulating your opinions?

15 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

16 THE WITNESS: Not exactly.

17 I rely on my knowledge of being
18 an expert in all the published research I
19 have on this.

20 So, there's -- it forms my
21 general knowledge in the same way that,
22 like, I've read thousands of articles or
23 hundreds of articles about the gig
24 economy and it shapes my knowledge.

25 Do I actually go to a specific

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Page 43

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 interview or transcript when writing this
3 report? Not at all.

4 BY MR. WYATT:

5 Q. Okay. The response references
6 the Institutional Review Board.7 What does the Institutional
8 Review Board do that prevents production of
9 this type of material?

10 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

11 THE WITNESS: So from what my
12 understanding is, the IRB is to protect
13 the rights of research subjects.14 And it was created after the
15 Tuskegee experiment, and we know the
16 whole history around that.17 And so there's a confidentiality
18 waiver that all of my participants in my
19 study sign where I don't collect their
20 names, or I -- I delete any sort of
21 identifying data about them once the
22 research process is complete.23 And that data is never shared
24 with anyone, besides me. So even if
25 these papers go through peer-review, the

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Page 44

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 actual raw data is never shared with
3 anyone, that's always been protected.

4 And that's the -- you know,
5 my -- all of my studies have to be
6 approved by Institutional Review Board.
7 This is sort of common norms in the
8 sciences.

9 BY MR. WYATT:

10 Q. And so, I'm just trying to
11 understand how the IRB prevents you from
12 sharing materials -- well, let me scratch that.

13 You mentioned that the intake
14 doesn't use drivers' names. So are the
15 materials that exist already deidentified?

16 A. No. They're identified, because
17 they are -- because they're in my control, but
18 everything that I publish is deidentified.

19 And there are a lot of different
20 security protocols I had around my collecting
21 the data and trying to keep it safe, because
22 Uber does have a pattern of history of
23 targeting individuals, drivers and other people
24 who speak out against it.

25 So it's one of the reasons about

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Page 45

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 why I was -- I'm very -- I was very protective
3 about the data and I have multiple safeguards
4 in place.

5 Q. Okay.

6 MR. WYATT: I object to that
7 characterization, but -- just for the
8 record.

9 BY MR. WYATT:

10 Q. Does -- would it be possible to
11 deidentify the information and produce the
12 deidentified versions of these materials?

13 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

14 THE WITNESS: The deidentified
15 pieces of data are in my published
16 research.

17 BY MR. WYATT:

18 Q. Well, in their complete form?

19 A. No.

20 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

21 THE WITNESS: So there's not an
22 entire interview transcript in any of my
23 data -- in any of my papers because
24 that's not how -- that's not how
25 researchers determine whether or not a

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 46

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 piece of research is valid or
3 generalizable or rigorous.

4 BY MR. WYATT:

5 Q. Right. You're not -- you're not
6 giving to the peer-reviewers, I understand,
7 like, your whole set of interview transcripts.

8 That's what you're saying,
9 correct?

10 A. Correct.

11 Q. Okay. But I'm trying to get
12 down to the bottom of this language about the
13 information is protected from disclosure,
14 including by Institutional Review Board, so let
15 me ask the question this way.

16 Is there anything other than the
17 Institutional Review Board that prevents
18 disclosure of these materials?

19 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

20 THE WITNESS: I'm not sure.

21 BY MR. WYATT:

22 Q. Okay. And then, is there a
23 written policy or is there some sort of
24 document you have from the Institutional Review
25 Board that says you cannot share these

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Page 47

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 materials?

3 A. Oh, yes.

4 Q. And -- and what is
5 that document?

6 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

7 THE WITNESS: I mean, any time
8 that a -- I would like to do a research
9 study, you have to submit a petition
10 to -- or application with your research
11 protocols to the Institutional Review
12 Board.

13 It gets reviewed by a committee
14 who has certain guidelines about how you
15 protect human subjects, so they aren't
16 exploited or hurt or harmed at some point
17 in the research process.

18 And so there's all this
19 documentation that happened around each
20 -- (inaudible) -- to get their approval.

21 And, you know, when you ask, is
22 there anyone besides the IRB that's
23 preventing this, the only reason people
24 participate in research studies in
25 general, and in mine, because I promised

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Page 48

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 them confidentiality.

3 BY MR. WYATT:

4 Q. And would it threaten their
5 confidentiality if deidentified versions of the
6 materials were produced?

7 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

8 THE WITNESS: That's a very
9 broad question. By deidentifying data,
10 do you -- you know, there's one way you
11 can think about it.

12 If I have three lines of an
13 interview, is that appropriately
14 deidentified? It could be. You know, I
15 do feel like most of my data in my
16 research studies are deidentified.

17 If I gave anybody a transcript,
18 there's no way that could be
19 deidentified.

20 BY MR. WYATT:

21 Q. And why is that, the transcript
22 could be?

23 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

24 THE WITNESS: I mean, there's
25 one about -- I mean, there's just --

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 49

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 there's so many different reasons, so
3 I'll just try to give you a few.4 One is by you could be listening
5 to someone's voice and that would be a
6 way to identify them. They could drop
7 identifying details in the transcript
8 about where they work or who they talked
9 to or a specific incident they had.

10 So there's a lot of --

11 there's -- that is one of the reasons why
12 we don't -- you know, we have to protect
13 our subjects in doing this type of
14 research.

15 BY MR. WYATT:

16 Q. Okay. And then, just referring
17 back to the process you described about getting
18 permission from the -- the Institutional Review
19 Board, would there be, like, project or
20 article-specific documents from an IRB that you
21 would have that says, in essence, thou shall
22 not share information about these individuals?

23 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

24 THE WITNESS: Yeah.

25 I'm pretty sure that's in the

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Page 50

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 IRB, in the agreement that I signed with
3 the University.

4 BY MR. WYATT:

5 Q. Okay. So it's in the agreement.

6 It's not -- well, let me scratch that.

7 It's not in a broad IRB policy
8 statement, it would be specific to the projects
9 you're discussing.

10 Is that correct?

11 A. Exactly. Yeah.

12 Each project goes through it's
13 own Institutional Review Board.

14 Q. Okay. Okay. Let me see.

15 And then Number 9 is, "All
16 interviews and statements taken by you or at
17 your direction, concerning this action,
18 including notes -- any notes, transcriptions,
19 video and/or audio recordings associated with
20 such."

21 Do you see that?

22 A. Yes.

23 Q. And then the response refers us
24 to 7 and 8.

25 Well, let me ask a clarifying

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Page 51

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 question because that doesn't make a lot of
3 sense to me.

4 Did you take any interviews or
5 statements by you, concerning this action?

6 A. No.

7 Q. Okay. So there's -- there's
8 just nothing responsive to Request Number 9?

9 A. Seems that way.

10 Q. Okay. That was my assumption,
11 based on reading your report, but I -- since
12 there were no citations to anything like that
13 in there, but I just wanted to make sure I was
14 understanding it correctly.

15 Okay. So for Number 10,
16 "Materials and documents provided to you or
17 received by you in connection with the action"
18 and it says, "Refer to Number 7", which I
19 assume is a reference to your materials
20 considered list, and we talked about that
21 already, right?

22 A. Right. The only thing -- I -- I
23 mean, just to be super clear, I received a
24 bunch of depositions -- I get all my documents
25 in hard copy.

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 52

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Q. Okay.

3 A. So I do have a whole box of
4 depositions that I mentioned before, I skimmed
5 a few of them. I don't really remember
6 anything about them, so I just want to say they
7 were provided to me, but I didn't actually read
8 or review them.9 Q. And how did you decide what
10 materials you needed from the litigation, in
11 order to develop your opinions in this case?12 A. That is a long back and forth
13 process in which I had conversation with
14 Jo Anna and her team about what I would be
15 interested in, what they thought they had, and
16 sort of, like, we compiled this list and I
17 received the materials.18 And then as I was starting to go
19 through things on my own, I prioritized what I
20 thought would be most important.21 Q. Okay. Request Number 1, "All
22 notes, calculations, memoranda, drawings,
23 models, illustrations, diagrams, recordings or
24 records generated or utilized by you", refers
25 us back to Number 7.

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 53

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 I assume there's nothing in this
3 category that you have not produced to us?

4 A. I mean, I have little scattered
5 pieces of notes on pieces of paper around, but
6 nothing is not -- that's not in my report.

7 Q. Okay. So there's no sort of
8 separate exhibit or presentation or something
9 that you put together that would be part of
10 your opinions in this case, that you've not
11 produced as part of your report, at least so
12 far?

13 A. No. Not at all.

14 Q. Okay. And then Number 12, "To
15 the extent not produced already, all other
16 information, documents, studies, texts,
17 treatises, objects or anything else that you
18 will use at trial."

19 Is there anything that you plan
20 to use at trial that is not contained in your
21 report that you know of right now?

22 A. No.

23 Not that I know of right now.

24 Q. Okay.

25 A. But because I'm in the

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 54

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 literature, I might be thinking about something
3 else, like those reports I had mentioned to you
4 earlier.

5 Q. Okay.

6 MS. POLLOCK: And Geoffrey, just
7 to round that out, I sent you by email
8 that invoice from 2024, it's in your
9 email inbox.

10 MR. WYATT: Okay. Great.

11 MS. POLLOCK: It's just a super
12 simple document, if you want to mark it
13 or not.

14 MR. WYATT: Yeah. I'll do that
15 after the next break.

16 MS. POLLOCK: Sure.

17 BY MR. WYATT:

18 Q. Okay. So shifting gears
19 slightly, who retained you in this case?

20 A. Can I say Jo Anna?

21 Q. Totally acceptable answer. Yes.

22 A. I think her firm is called
23 Simmons and something.

24 Q. Okay. And I think we talked
25 about this earlier, but you were retained in

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Page 55

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 roughly May or June of 2024.

3 Is that right?

4 A. That sounds right. Yes.

5 Q. Okay. And then you worked with
6 this firm or Jo Anna Pollock previously?

7 A. No.

8 Q. You have, though, testified in
9 other cases and other situations, involving
10 Uber.

11 Is that right?

12 A. Yes.

13 Q. Okay. And if we go back to
14 Exhibit 1, which is your report. I think we're
15 all the way to the end.

16 This is your list of prior
17 testimony. We talked about it briefly a minute
18 ago, right?

19 A. Yes.

20 Q. And -- and this is complete as
21 of now as to prior testimony or other cases in
22 which you were involved as an expert?

23 A. Correct.

24 Q. And does this cover every case
25 in which you've been retained as an expert or

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 56

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 only ones in which you testified, or is that
3 the same universe of cases?

4 A. Only cases in which I've
5 testified.

6 Q. Okay. So are there other cases
7 in which you've been retained as an expert
8 witness, but have not been deposed or otherwise
9 testified?

10 MS. POLLOCK: You can answer the
11 question yes or no.

12 So as to protect any retention
13 by you, in terms of in a consulting --

14 THE WITNESS: So if I understand
15 the question, retain includes consulting
16 as well?

17 BY MR. WYATT:

18 Q. Yes. And Counsel is right, I'm
19 only asking yes or no, not for any details,
20 just have you had any other arrangements as a
21 consulting expert, outside of testifying?

22 A. Yes.

23 Q. Okay. And are there any of
24 those that you are free to discuss or are they
25 all subject to confidentiality?

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 57

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 A. Subject to confidentiality.

3 Q. Okay. Let's talk about the
4 first item on the list, which is testimony
5 provided for a hearing held by the
6 Pennsylvania State Senate Democratic Policy
7 Committee, 2019.

8 Do you see that?

9 A. Yes.

10 Q. And do you recall what the
11 nature of the hearing was in 2019?

12 A. No. But the testimony is on my
13 website.

14 Q. Okay.

15 That's true for 2019 and 2021?

16 A. Yes. I think they're both on my
17 website.

18 Q. Okay. Do you recall whether the
19 2019 testimony was the -- on the same issues as
20 2021 or different issues, or you don't --

21 A. I think they were pretty close,
22 pretty similar.

23 Q. Okay. And were you retained to
24 provide that testimony?

25 A. What does retained mean?

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 58

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Q. Hired, paid?

3 A. No. I was not hired or paid.

4 Q. So how did it come to be that
5 you were appearing at these hearings?

6 A. I think a colleague recommended
7 me for 2019. And then I think in 2021, they
8 just asked me to come back.

9 Q. Okay.

10 A. They, being the State Senate.

11 Q. Okay. Got it.

12 And were you testifying as an
13 expert at these hearings?

14 A. I don't know what -- I don't
15 think I quite understand the question.

16 Q. Yeah. I don't mean it in a
17 technical sense, but was your expertise being
18 sought at these hearings?

19 Was that the reason for your
20 testimony?

21 A. I was -- yes, I was talking
22 about the research in the ride-hailing
23 industry.

24 Q. Okay. Looking at the second
25 item, that's the 2021 testimony at the same

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Page 59

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 committee, correct?

3 A. Yes.

4 MR. WYATT: And let me introduce
5 another exhibit here.

6 - - -

7 (Whereupon the document was
8 marked, for identification purposes, as
9 Exhibit Number 7.)

10 - - -

11 MR. WYATT: This will be
12 Exhibit 7.

13 BY MR. WYATT:

14 Q. And it should be up on the
15 screen now.

16 Do you see that?

17 A. Yes.

18 Q. Okay. I think this is your 2021
19 testimony.

20 Are you able to determine that
21 by looking at it?

22 A. Yes.

23 It looks -- it looks like it.

24 Q. And I found this -- it sounds
25 like you have it on your website too. We found

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Page 60

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 this on Senator Nikil Saval's website.

3 A. Yes.

4 Q. Is that somebody you know from
5 these hearings or remember from these hearings?

6 A. That name sounds familiar.

7 Q. Okay.

8 A. And I think on my website, I
9 might even link to his -- I might link to this
10 document, on Nikil's website.

11 Q. Okay. And then at the bottom
12 here on Page 1, help me understand how
13 testimony works in this committee.

14 Would you have submitted this
15 written testimony and also appeared live to say
16 essentially the same thing or is it different
17 from that?

18 A. From what I remember, I do not
19 remember if I shared a written product. No.
20 Maybe I did, if it's on Nikil's website, but I
21 just remember -- I remember going up and
22 reading this.

23 Q. Okay. And so, last paragraph on
24 the first page, it says, "Out of the 13 percent
25 of the workforce that are in independent

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Page 61

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON
2 contractor work arrangements, only one percent
3 are working gig jobs with most of them being
4 ride-hailing drivers."

5 Do you see that?

6 A. Correct.

7 Q. So at this point in time, you're
8 transcribing ride-hailing drivers as
9 independent contractors, correct?

10 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

11 THE WITNESS: No.

12 BY MR. WYATT:

13 Q. What's wrong about that?

14 A. What I think -- so I say
15 independent contractor work arrangements, so
16 that's when individuals are not employees.

17 But I would want to say that the
18 way we use these words in our management
19 literature are different then I think from a
20 legal term of how you think about Uber
21 classification.

22 So I wouldn't -- I'm not making
23 an argument that I think these workers are
24 independent contractors nor am I making an
25 argument that I think these workers are

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 62

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON
2 employees, I'm just stating the facts that this
3 moment, that these are the work arrangements
4 that they're in.

5 Q. Okay. That's understood.

6 And so what are some of the
7 differences between the literature you just
8 described and the legal definitions of terms
9 like this?

10 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

11 And calls for a legal conclusion.

12 THE WITNESS: To be honest,
13 that's outside of my realm of expertise.

14 BY MR. WYATT:

15 Q. Okay. But I think -- I'm
16 following up on a statement you just made.

17 You have a sense, though, that
18 there's a difference in meaning.

19 Is that a fair --

20 A. Yes. I do believe there's a
21 deep difference -- there's -- there's
22 differences in meeting in how we think about
23 these terms, how we think about control, just
24 because we're two different disciplines.

25 Q. Okay.

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 63

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 And we'll get into some of those
3 differences too as we go along here, but that's
4 helpful framing for going forward.

5 And then, if we can scroll -- or
6 I'm scrolling, so I'll scroll to Page 2, you
7 have a section called "What Control Looks Like
8 in Gig Work."

9 Do you see that?

10 A. Yes.

11 Q. And then it says, "In my
12 research, I identify five ways algorithms
13 control the work process."

14 Is that right?

15 A. Correct.

16 Q. And what do you mean by control,
17 as you use it here?

18 A. You know, I -- I was thinking
19 the same thing. I don't think that's the right
20 word. I would use the word manage.

21 Q. Okay.

22 A. And so this is before my papers
23 had been published and peer-reviewed, and I'm
24 pretty clear -- I'm pretty sure that I use the
25 word manage instead of the word control right

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 64

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 there.

3 Q. Okay. And what would you mean
4 by manage, if you replaced control with manage?5 A. So a manage would be those five
6 dimensions I'm talking about, you know, how did
7 they manage or direct a labor process? And
8 they deal with the matching, in giving
9 instructions and setting prices.10 And so my 2024 Administrative
11 Science Quarterly Article lays that out, like,
12 what is algorithmic management?13 Q. And when we use the words
14 control or manage in this sentence, is there --
15 is that word phrased with either a negative or
16 positive connotation or is it neutral?

17 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

18 THE WITNESS: So I -- I don't
19 think we can use the word manage and
20 control interchangeably, but it is
21 neutral.22 I would agree with you it's
23 neutral. You weren't saying it was
24 neutral, but I would say, yes, it is
25 neutral.

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 65

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 BY MR. WYATT:

3 Q. Is it descriptive? Is that a
4 good way to think about it rather than
5 pre-scripted or normative?

6 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

7 THE WITNESS: We don't use those
8 words in my field, so I don't think I can
9 answer that.

10 BY MR. WYATT:

11 Q. Okay. Fair enough.

12 I'm just trying to understand
13 it, but I think I do, based on your last
14 answer.

15 You also mention in the same
16 paragraph that "Photo verification compliance
17 with company guidelines, such as making sure
18 the person registered with the platform is the
19 one driving and that drivers wear masks."

20 I assume this latter part is the
21 reference to the COVID era?

22 A. Yes. Exactly. It's 2021.

23 Q. And so -- and you note that, and
24 "I'm sure many of you are familiar with these
25 systems are inherently racially biased."

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 66

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Is that referring to photo
3 verification systems?

4 A. Photo verification, but also
5 algorithmic management systems in general are
6 racially biased, but I believe when you're
7 looking at that -- well, you see that in that
8 question, it says algorithms -- okay.

9 "Algorithms have a harder time
10 detecting the features of darker-skinned
11 people." So I would say algorithmic management
12 is racially biased. Photo verification, I
13 would say is a subset within algorithmic
14 management.

15 Q. Okay. And you go on to say:
16 "Even in situations where control is not
17 actually exercised, i.e., there is only the
18 threat of a penalty of workers do not behave
19 accordingly, there is still control because
20 workers align their behaviors to the management
21 system."

22 Do you see that?

23 A. Correct.

24 That isn't properly worded.

25 Q. What's wrong with it?

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Page 67

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 A. The -- the beginning, where I
3 say "Even in situations where control is not
4 actually exercised", that word should be
5 sanctioned.

6 Like, even when they're not
7 actual punishments, control is still being
8 exercised. That's -- that's the key idea of
9 that sentence.

10 Q. Okay. And how is that?

11 How is control operating, even
12 if they're not actually being sanctioned?

13 A. So you see what I have in
14 between the M line, the i.e.?

15 Q. Yeah.

16 A. There's only the threat of
17 penalty if workers do not behave accordingly,
18 there is still control because that threat of
19 penalty aligns individuals' behavior to
20 management systems.

21 And that's not just my research,
22 you know, that's Fuoco 77, that's Antibe and
23 Chan 2008, there's a lot of -- it's also
24 Antibe 2006, that's the -- you don't just need
25 punishment to be able to actually -- to have

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 68

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 organizational control is what that statement
3 is saying.

4 Q. Do you think photo verification
5 serves an important safety service?

6 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

7 THE WITNESS: It possibly could.

8 My expertise isn't safety.

9 BY MR. WYATT:

10 Q. Do you think there are ways to
11 obtain the safety result that photo
12 verification attempted to secure without
13 exerting some form of control?

14 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

15 THE WITNESS: Can you say that
16 one more time?

17 BY MR. WYATT:

18 Q. It was a poorly worded question.
19 I was making it up as I went along.

20 Let me try again.

21 Is there a way to verify that a
22 driver is who the driver claims to be, without
23 exerting some form of control?

24 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

25 THE WITNESS: I'm not sure that

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 69

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 I can really answer this question,
3 because, one -- the first part is, can
4 you verify the driver is who they really
5 are?

6 Like, that's out -- that's
7 outside of my scope of expertise, to talk
8 about -- to understand photo
9 verification.

10 I also feel like in the way you
11 phrased that question, there was a
12 miss -- we have a different
13 conceptualization of what is control.

14 Like, control, to me, is not yes
15 or no, it's not binary, it's like an
16 enactment of a larger organizational
17 system.

18 BY MR. WYATT:

19 Q. I think you're right and I think
20 that's -- I'm actually asking the question to
21 try to flush out your definition of control and
22 that -- that explanation is helpful to my
23 understanding.

24 So let me ask you some other
25 questions like that, but I understand your

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Page 70

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 answer, so I'll move on.

3 And then, let's see -- on the
4 next page, we have a section called
5 "Consequences of Gig Work For Customers,
6 Workers and Community."

7 Do you see that?

8 A. Yes.

9 Q. And then, in Number 2, you
10 write, "Now, I'll share some of the research
11 about the benefits and drawbacks of gig work
12 for customers, workers and society more
13 generally", right?

14 A. Yes.

15 Q. And is that your -- is that --
16 does that continue to be your view that there
17 are benefits and drawback of gig work for
18 customers, workers and societies more
19 generally?

20 A. Yes.

21 Q. Okay. And you write, "At the
22 micro -- at the more micro-level, there are
23 many benefits from driving. In my data,
24 drivers mentioned that this work has helped
25 them become a person -- become a person as

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Page 71

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 they're able to open a checking account and
3 apply for credit cards for the first time",
4 right?

5 A. Correct.

6 Q. And then it goes on to say,
7 "I've found that ride-hailing can increase
8 drivers personal and professional network to
9 help them access resources such as home
10 repairs, services, clients for other businesses
11 projects or other types of work", right?

12 A. Yes.

13 I wrote a paper about that.

14 Q. Which paper was about that?

15 A. You can see it right there,
16 Footnote 13.

17 Q. Oh, yeah. Okay.

18 We'll talk about that paper in a
19 little bit. I know that one.

20 And then it says, "Most
21 importantly, because of the low barrier to
22 entry and scheduling flexibility, these
23 companies provide an opportunity for drivers to
24 earn who may not be able, or even want to,
25 secure traditional employment."

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 72

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Do you see that?

3 A. I see that.

4 Q. And then, "Several drivers I
5 interviewed were able to supplement other
6 earnings or flex their schedule around health
7 issues or child/elder care."

8 A. That's true.

9 I want to say, yes, I see that.
10 My opinions on that have evolved a bit since
11 2021 and it's coming out into my work -- more
12 recent work.

13 Q. And we'll talk a little bit more
14 about that later, but I have a question, which
15 is, do you still believe that scheduling
16 flexibility is a benefit of ridesharing?

17 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

18 THE WITNESS: It's -- it's a
19 tricky -- it's a complex question to
20 answer, from a researcher's perspective.

21 At a very basic level, you can
22 say, yes, there is schedule flexibility
23 because I can open up the app and drive.

24 I think that when you look at it
25 from a more multifaceted complex way from

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 73

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 a structural ethnographer, which I am,
3 you realize that schedule flexibility is
4 not as flexible as portrayed, and there's
5 lots of constraints around it, is it
6 really flexible?

7 But I do know that many drivers
8 talk about schedule flexibility as being
9 a good thing and the reason why they like
10 driving.

11 BY MR. WYATT:

12 Q. And should we credit those
13 drivers use of the benefits of flexibility or
14 should we be skeptical of those drivers use?

15 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

16 THE WITNESS: The answer is
17 both.

18 BY MR. WYATT:

19 Q. Okay. Say more about that.

20 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

21 THE WITNESS: That's not a
22 question.

23 BY MR. WYATT:

24 Q. Can you explain what you mean by
25 the answer is both?

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 74

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 A. So that goes to the heart of
3 what my -- my approach as a researcher, as
4 being a structural ethnographer, is that I look
5 at workers' individual experiences, but I also
6 look at how it's nested in wider structural
7 forces, whether that's algorithmic management
8 or the economy or technology or cultural
9 narratives.

10 And so it's about using
11 individual narration, along with, how do you
12 understand organizations and society that helps
13 you become -- paint a better picture about what
14 is happening behind just the individual level.

15 And that's why I say it's both,
16 and that's why I am a structural ethnographer.

17 Q. So, let's see.

18 We have a driver who tells you
19 they believe that the biggest benefit of being
20 a driver is the flexibility for their schedule.

21 What's the method we use to
22 evaluate whether that person is right about the
23 flexibility being the biggest benefit for them,
24 in being a driver?

25 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

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Page 75

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 THE WITNESS: Can you say that
3 one more time, please?

4 BY MR. WYATT:

5 Q. Sure.

6 From the perspective of -- of --
7 is the field structural ethnographer, is that
8 what you said?

9 A. Yes.

10 Q. From the perspective of the
11 field of structural ethnography, how do we
12 decide a driver is right when the driver tells
13 us that he or she believes that schedule
14 flexibility is the best benefit of being a
15 driver?

16 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

17 THE WITNESS: So my response
18 would be, there is no right.

19 BY MR. WYATT:

20 Q. Okay.

21 A. The individual could have their
22 individual value of feeling like this work is
23 flexible for whatever reason.

24 And for my job as an
25 ethnographer is to look at that in contact --

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 76

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON
2 in context, you know, comparing what different
3 people say, comparing with archival, comparing
4 with what's happening in a societal,
5 organizational or a field level, to rate a more
6 broader perspective of what's happening.

7 And there is no right or wrong,
8 it's just different lenses of analysis.

9 Q. Okay. I'll pause for more
10 questions about that, but let's move on to the
11 next paragraph here.

12 It says, "Lastly, these
13 companies, or more precisely, drivers, save
14 lives. One person every hour dies from a drunk
15 driving-related accident. That is two people
16 in the course of this meeting. Research from
17 various colleges, all find that incidents in
18 DUIs drop when a ride-hailing company enters a
19 city. In Philadelphia, the number of drunk
20 driving arrests have dropped by 14 percent."

21 Do you see that?

22 A. Yes.

23 Q. Is that still an opinion you
24 hold about the benefits of drivers?

25 A. Yes.

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 77

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 That's an opinion I still hold.

3 Q. Okay. And then --

4 A. But -- but there's lots of
5 research that backs it up too. It's not
6 just -- it's more than what I'm just citing
7 right here.

8 Q. Okay. And is that something
9 that you continue to study as part of your work
10 in this space?

11 A. No. I've never studied this.

12 Q. Okay. Okay.

13 But -- you have a citation here
14 and so you've looked it up once or twice for
15 purposes of fitting it into this testimony
16 anyway, is that fair?

17 A. Yes. One of the people on my
18 dissertation committee is connected to this
19 type of research, so I've -- I've read it.

20 Q. Okay. And then just to close
21 out this document, and you have a section also
22 on -- you covered benefits and this section is
23 on challenges, correct?

24 A. Yes.

25 Q. Okay.

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Page 78

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 And then one of the challenges
3 is in Paragraph C, you note, "Drivers can be
4 unfairly penalized and deactivated. In my
5 work, drivers report being blocked based on
6 unsubstantiated customer complaints, such as a
7 customer saying the car smells like marijuana
8 or the driver is drunk and having no means to
9 appeal the decision."

10 Do you see that?

11 A. Yes.

12 Q. Were you talking about Uber
13 specifically when you're referencing
14 unsubstantiated customer complaints?

15 A. You know, when I interviewed
16 people, I call the company ride hail, because I
17 have Uber, Lyft and Juno on there.

18 Q. I see.

19 A. I can't specifically say it was
20 an Uber driver, but I have this data so much --
21 I mean, I have these people saying they've been
22 blocked unfairly so often, that I'm assuming
23 some of them have to be Uber drivers.

24 Q. I see.

25 And that -- and that answers

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Page 79

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON
2 another question I had, because I saw in some
3 of your writings, referenced to Ride-Hailing,
4 capital R, H, and I wasn't sure what that was,
5 but this is a -- a placeholder that kind of
6 covers all ride-hailing companies that you just
7 described.

8 Is that right?

9 A. Exactly.

10 Q. Okay. And do you have an
11 opinion about the right way to substantiate
12 customer complaints?

13 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

14 THE WITNESS: Honestly, no.

15 That's outside of my realm of expertise.

16 BY MR. WYATT:

17 Q. And you provide some examples
18 here; car smells like marijuana, driver is
19 drunk.

20 Can you think of other examples
21 that you became familiar with, through your
22 work, that drivers cited as unsubstantiated
23 customer complaints that causes them to be
24 blocked?

25 A. Yes.

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Page 80

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 I think there is a time where a
3 driver was accused of touching a women or
4 saying something inappropriate, might have been
5 saying something inappropriate, and they were
6 blocked.

7 Something about something being
8 broken in their car. Like, Uber thought they
9 got into an accident or their car wasn't
10 drivable, but it was actually drivable.

11 People talk about being scammed
12 by customers quite a bit, like, customers will
13 say, they did -- the ride dropped them off at
14 the wrong place or they took the wrong customer
15 and so then the driver gets reprimanded because
16 supposedly they didn't give the right person a
17 ride, and drivers are like that's not true, the
18 individuals were lying, they were in the car.

19 So that's just a few of the
20 examples, but my research doesn't really focus
21 on this. So that's just what I remember off
22 the top of my head.

23 Q. Okay. That's fair.

24 And that's -- that's a few
25 examples.

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 81

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Do you have an opinion about
3 whether it was good or bad, that these
4 individuals felt that they were deactivated
5 based on unsubstantiated complaints, or is this
6 just an observation?

7 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

8 THE WITNESS: Just -- I'm
9 remembering another example, because I'm
10 going through my Roladex.

11 I think there was some
12 altercation between a customer and a
13 driver and the customer felt like -- the
14 driver felt the customer attacked them,
15 but then they were the ones that were in
16 trouble or they were the ones that were
17 blocked, but to answer your question, do
18 I have any conclusions about this?

19 I think I'm most concerned about
20 when drivers say they don't have a means
21 of recourse to get back on the platform.

22 I think personally -- or to like
23 adjudicate their claims. I think that's
24 personally what concerns me the most, but
25 my research doesn't focus on this at all,

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Page 82

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 so it's not, like -- it's not, like, my
3 research peer-reviewed opinion right
4 there.

5 BY MR. WYATT:

6 Q. Okay. I appreciate that caveat.
7 So would you think about the
8 problem differently if the block from the
9 platform related to a report about a safety
10 issue, as compared to a smell or something
11 that's not safety related?

12 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

13 THE WITNESS: I feel like you're
14 asking me to think or speculate about
15 things that are way outside of my -- my
16 area of expertise.

17 BY MR. WYATT:

18 Q. That's fair.

19 And -- and to be fair, if your
20 response is, I don't have an opinion on that or
21 I haven't look at that or whatever, that's a
22 totally acceptable answer from my perspective.

23 So if that's not one of your
24 opinions, we can move on.

25 A. I mean, yes.

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 83

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 I felt if I was to answer that
3 question, I would just -- I wouldn't be telling
4 you what I actually know from my research, so I
5 really don't have an expert opinion on that.

6 Q. Okay. And -- and just to round
7 out this list we've been talking about, your
8 testimony in legislative settings and we've
9 covered two examples.

10 Is that the complete list of
11 legislative testimony that you've given?

12 A. Yes.

13 Q. Okay.

14 A. And just for the record, I would
15 say my prior comment about, you know, I think,
16 you know, it's upsetting that workers may not
17 have a way to, like, address these grievances,
18 that's, again, not my expert opinion, that's
19 just my personal reaction to hearing their
20 stories.

21 Q. Okay. That's fair.

22 MR. WYATT: How would now be for
23 a brief break?

24 THE WITNESS: Sounds good.

25 MR. WYATT: Okay.

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Page 84

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Going off the
3 video record. The time is 3:25 p.m.

4 - - -

5 (Whereupon, a recess took place
6 from 3:25 p.m. to 3:28 p.m.).

7 - - -

8 THE VIDEOGRAPHER: We are back
9 on the video record. The time is 3:38
10 p.m., this begins Media Unit Number 2.

11 BY MR. WYATT:

12 Q. All right. Welcome back,
13 Dr. Cameron.

14 Ready to go?

15 A. Ready.

16 Q. All right.

17 I have received from your
18 counsel the retainer invoice that we discussed
19 and I'm going to introduce that as Exhibit 8,
20 just to identify it.

21 - - -

22 (Whereupon the document was
23 marked, for identification purposes, as
24 Exhibit Number 8.)

25 - - -

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 85

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 BY MR. WYATT:

3 Q. And I'll share it, just so you
4 can look at it quickly.

5 Does this look like that invoice
6 dated May 23rd, 2024?

7 A. Yes.

8 Q. Sorry. I didn't catch that.

9 A. Yes.

10 Q. Okay. Great. I don't have any
11 questions about that.

12 We were talking about your prior
13 testimony and I'll put that list back up for
14 us.

15 And we're looking at Exhibit C
16 to your report, which is Exhibit 1 to this
17 deposition, and we talked about the first two
18 items, which were the legislative hearings, and
19 then there's six other items on the list, which
20 are all cases.

21 Is that right?

22 A. Correct.

23 Q. Okay. And it looks like
24 Numbers 3 through 7 out of 8, are cases that
25 were brought against Uber.

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Page 86

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Is that correct?

3 A. Yes. Number 7 is Uber and Lyft.

4 Q. I see that. Okay.

5 And were you retained as an
6 expert on behalf of the plaintiff in -- in all
7 these cases, including Number 8?

8 A. Which side is the -- I'm not
9 sure which side is the plaintiff.

10 Q. Oh, that's fair.

11 So that's -- in these cases,
12 that's going to be the side that is suing the
13 Uber, Lyft, Shipt, the companies.

14 A. Yes.

15 Well, each one of those say
16 plaintiff on it, so I'm saying, yes, I was on
17 the plaintiff side.

18 Q. Got it. Okay.

19 And fair enough, you're not
20 steeped in plaintiff versus defendant, but I
21 think -- yeah. Okay. I think we're talking
22 about the same thing. Okay.

23 A. I just -- I just don't want to
24 make a mistake because I know we speak two
25 different languages.

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 87

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Q. We do.

3 And that's clear on the record,
4 so I think we're good for this one, but as
5 those issues of legal versus academic or
6 whatever the appropriate label for your field
7 is, just flag those things for me and we'll
8 work it through if we have to define terms or
9 anything, I appreciate that.

10 So you've testified against Uber
11 in at least five lawsuits before this one.

12 Is that a fair summary?

13 A. Yes.

14 Q. Okay. Can you describe at a
15 high level, what the cases against Uber were
16 about?

17 A. At a high level, I believe those
18 cases are about -- the first one, two, three --
19 the four, that are all by Kherkher Garcia,
20 Number 6 was by Kherkher Garcia, was about
21 back -- like something about pay, I think.

22 Like, classification was in
23 there, but I think they were really about
24 getting paid for -- for workers.

25 And 7 was about, I think, worker

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Page 88

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 classification, maybe, with also pay involved,
3 but I really just talked about control.

4 Q. Okay. And fair enough.

5 Your focussed on your role in
6 these cases, it sounds like you weren't super
7 deep in the specific facts of each case.

8 Is that fair?

9 A. That's correct.

10 Q. Okay.

11 Generally speaking, were the
12 opinions in these cases also focused on topics
13 like organizational control and algorithmic
14 management?

15 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

16 THE WITNESS: Can you say the
17 question one more time?

18 BY MR. WYATT:

19 Q. Sure.

20 Were your opinions in these
21 cases against Uber also about topics like
22 organizational control and algorithmic
23 management?

24 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

25 THE WITNESS: Yes.

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Page 89

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 BY MR. WYATT:

3 Q. And I'm -- I'm not trying to be
4 tricky, I just want to understand.

5 Is it basically the same topics,
6 or is there one sort of very different from the
7 one issues you're discussing in your report in
8 this case?

9 A. I don't understand the question
10 now.

11 Q. Were you addressing topics like
12 organizational control in each of these cases?

13 A. Yes. I was.

14 Organizational control,
15 algorithmic management, yes.

16 Q. Were there any other topics that
17 you addressed in these cases that you don't
18 touch on in the report, in this case?

19 A. No. I don't think so.

20 I talk about more things in this
21 report than I did in the prior reports, but I
22 don't -- well, that's not true.

23 There's some -- some of those
24 cases, because they're, like, with an
25 individual, there's, like, specific things

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 90

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON
2 around that individual that came into each of
3 the report -- that -- that was, you know, I
4 guess, the equivalent in this would be when I
5 talked about, I think, the five bellwethers or
6 the five individuals.

7 Q. Okay. Okay. That's understood.

8 Okay. So -- and you mentioned
9 this already, but the Massachusetts AG case,
10 that one involved not just Uber, but also Lyft.

11 Is that right?

12 A. Correct.

13 Q. And tell me about your process.

14 Do you reuse parts of prior
15 reports in reports for subsequent cases, in
16 part, at least?

17 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

18 THE WITNESS: I have reused
19 parts of one case for another case, if
20 the questions are similar or related to
21 one another.

22 BY MR. WYATT:

23 Q. Okay. And --

24 A. And if my opinion hasn't
25 changed.

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Page 91

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 MS. POLLOCK: I want to -- my
3 objection wasn't noted in the record, if
4 you could please note it.

5 Thank you.

6 BY MR. WYATT:

7 Q. Let me -- let me just focus that
8 question on one part of the report here, on
9 page -- oops. Hold on a second.

10 That's the wrong copy.

11 If we go to Paragraph 86 of your
12 report, which is on Page 42. I just want to
13 make sure I understood this and I -- my guess
14 is that this is a -- an artifact of a -- a
15 reuse issue, but I just want to make sure I
16 understood it correctly.

17 So in this sentence, it says, "I
18 will describe the mechanics of a driver
19 completing a ride, which at this level of
20 generality is virtually identical for both
21 companies."

22 By both companies, do you mean
23 Uber and Lyft?

24 A. Correct. That's an artifact
25 from the Massachusetts report.

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Page 92

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Q. Okay. And there might be a
3 couple other places where this happens, but if
4 that happens, you're -- I can assume both
5 companies really, for purposes of this case,
6 just means Uber.

7 Is that fair?

8 A. Exactly.

9 And also, when you think about
10 my research, my research is about ride-hailing.
11 So I looked -- there's part of my theorizing
12 that -- that algorithmic management work is
13 very similar on Uber and Lyft and similar --
14 you know, similar sort of ride-hailing
15 companies.

16 So often, many -- if you read my
17 papers, it's not so much, like, I'm pointing a
18 finger at Uber, I'm more speaking about the
19 industry more generally. So, yes, if you see
20 artifacts in both companies, it's an artifact
21 from the Massachusetts case.

22 Q. Okay. And are you relying on
23 any materials that you reviewed in the
24 Massachusetts case to support your opinions in
25 this case?

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Page 93

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 A. I have access -- I don't have
3 any of the materials from the Massachusetts
4 case. I shred everything at the end of the
5 report.

6 Q. Okay.

7 A. But I -- it's -- it's in my
8 head. It's in my general knowledge.

9 Q. Sure. Okay.

10 And would the same be true for
11 the other cases against Uber, that you would --
12 you would have had the materials for a time,
13 but shredded them and they're not forming any
14 of your opinions in this case either?

15 A. Correct. I'm a former CIA
16 officer, so that was part of my training.

17 Q. Sure. All right.

18 Fair enough. Fair enough.

19 If anyone knows when to shred
20 stuff, it should be you.

21 Is that fair?

22 A. Yes, sir.

23 MS. POLLOCK: Objection.

24 MR. WYATT: I didn't mean it
25 that way.

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 94

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 I thank you for your service is
3 where I was going with that, actually,
4 but I went to -- to Argo, the movie about
5 being out of Iran as the -- under siege.

6 THE WITNESS: Thank you.

7 I appreciate it.

8 BY MR. WYATT:

9 Q. Okay. So -- let's see.

10 Let me just get us back to the
11 list here. And then Number 8 is not a case
12 involved -- why -- oh, no, is it a case
13 involving ride-hailing companies or not, it's
14 Attorney General Versus Shipt, and I don't know
15 if Shipt is the only defendant?

16 A. No. It doesn't involve a
17 ride-hailing company.

18 Q. What at a high level is that
19 case about, if you know?

20 A. I don't.

21 Q. Do you know if Mr. Okapaku is an
22 expert also in the Shipt case?

23 A. I don't.

24 Q. Okay. So you didn't respond to
25 his opinion in that case, as far as you know?

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Page 95

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 A. I didn't know he was part of
3 that case.

4 Q. Okay.

5 And in the Shipt case, are you
6 also addressing issues of organizational
7 control or is it about other topics?

8 MS. POLLOCK: No. Hold on.

9 I'm going to instruct the
10 witness to be careful not to disclose any
11 information that is subject to any kind
12 of confidentiality arrangement you have,
13 if you haven't been disclosed yet, your
14 opinions.

15 MR. WYATT: Oh, that's fair.

16 It only says deposition and
17 subject to protective order.

18 Okay. That's fine.

19 BY MR. WYATT:

20 Q. I mean, do you know at a high
21 level what the allegations in the case are?
22 Did I ask you that already?

23 A. The case has settled.

24 Q. Okay.

25 A. So I think you can find out all

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 96

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 the information you want that way.

3 Q. Got it. Okay. All right.

4 Let's go earlier in your report,
5 and here you're describing your qualifications,
6 in Paragraph 4.

7 You're currently an assistant
8 professor in management at the Wharton School
9 of the University of Pennsylvania, is that
10 correct?

11 A. Correct.

12 Q. And you say in Paragraph 5, you
13 teach an executive course on the future of work
14 in graduate classes on managing emerging
15 enterprises, right?

16 A. Correct.

17 Q. And what topics do you cover in
18 those, in that courses, in those --

19 A. In that -- yes.

20 In that course, I cover
21 motivation, incentive systems, job design,
22 hiring, performance appraisals, organization
23 design and high-performance work systems.

24 Q. And do you teach classes that
25 are based on the work that you're relying on in

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 97

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 this case about the gig economy and
3 ride-hailing platforms?

4 A. Yes.

5 Q. And what's that course about or
6 what's that course called?

7 A. The -- my class on motivation.

8 I talk a lot about the ride-hailing industry.

9 Q. Okay. And it says you also --

10 A. Oh, well, there's another class
11 I talk more about the package delivery industry
12 which, sorry, you asked me about Uber.

13 Q. Okay. Okay. Fair enough.

14 You also say you hold, in
15 Paragraph 4, a courtesy appointment in
16 sociology at the University of Pennsylvania.

17 Is that right?

18 A. Yes.

19 Q. And does that mean you teach
20 classes there as well? What does a courtesy
21 appointment entail?

22 A. No. I don't teach classes in
23 sociology. I just give talks in the sociology
24 department, and I review for sociology
25 journals, but, no, I don't teach in that

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 98

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 department.

3 Q. Okay. And then it says, you are
4 a faculty associate at the Harvard Law School's
5 Berkman Klein Center for Internet and Society,
6 right?

7 A. Yes.

8 Q. And what do you do in that role?

9 A. I've given talks at
10 Berkman Klein.

11 Q. Okay. On what types?

12 A. The gig economy.

13 Q. Okay. Do you teach any courses
14 on employment law?

15 A. No.

16 Q. Are you an expert in employment
17 law?

18 A. No.

19 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.
20 Go ahead.

21 BY MR. WYATT:

22 Q. It also says here, faculty
23 affiliated and prior fellow at the Data and
24 Society Research Institute in New York City,
25 right?

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Page 99

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 A. Correct.

3 Q. And what do you do in that role?

4 A. So I was there for a year where
5 I was involved in, like, a research project
6 that they helped support.

7 I gave talks. They write a lot
8 of policy, briefs or give presentations, I give
9 feedback on. I mean, so now, as a fellow, it's
10 more giving talks, giving feedback, going to
11 conferences they host, things like that.

12 Q. Okay. And same thing, like, do
13 you -- when you give talks here, is it on the
14 same topics we've been discussing?

15 A. Yes.

16 Q. Okay. And then if we go to
17 Paragraph 7, it says, "As an organizational and
18 management scholar, my research is grounded in
19 the disciplines of psychology and sociology,
20 and my research program is primarily
21 qualitative and draws on the norms and
22 standards of qualitative methodology in the
23 organizational management field which
24 emphasizes in-depth immersion and observation."

25 Do you see that?

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Page 100

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 A. Yes.

3 Q. And then it goes on to say,
4 "Research using qualitative methods is among
5 the most impactful, highly cited, and
6 ground-breaking in the field of organizational
7 management, evident in the numbers of awards
8 and citations as compared to studies that use
9 other research methodologies."

10 Do you see that?

11 A. Yes.

12 Q. And what is this relevant to?

13 You state qualitative methods is
14 amongst the most impactful.

15 Compared to what other methods?

16 A. Qualitative methodologies.

17 Q. Okay. And why is that?

18 Why is that -- well, you say
19 most impactful.

20 Are you saying more impactful
21 than qualitative methods?

22 A. Yes. I'd say more impactful
23 and -- and there is specific research I'm
24 drawing on.

25 When you look at the number of

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Page 101

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 best paper awards in our field, if you see that
3 as a recognition of impact, because it is
4 field-wide, they disproportionately vote to
5 qualitative papers. I was just teaching this
6 on Monday.

7 Six out of the past eight best
8 papers awards in a particular journal has gone
9 qualitative methods, and qualitative
10 researchers are probably only about 10 to 15
11 percent of the field in terms of number of --
12 of researchers.

13 Q. And when you say the field,
14 like, which fields specifically are you --

15 A. Organizational management,
16 organizational theory, organizational behavior.

17 Q. -- okay.

18 And so, that's the metric that
19 you're using, is awards and numbers of
20 citations within that field, qualitative versus
21 quantitative?

22 Is that right?

23 A. Awards. I didn't -- I didn't
24 say -- well, I'm trying to think about
25 citations.

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Page 102

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Off the top of my head, I don't
3 remember the -- the actual -- which study,
4 which says more citations go to qualitative
5 papers, but off the top of my head, I know
6 awards disproportionately go to those who do
7 qualitative research.

8 Q. Okay. And why do you think
9 qualitative research is awarded more frequently
10 than quantitative research in this field?

11 A. Because it generates new
12 theories.

13 Q. And are new theories valued more
14 highly than testing old theories or why does
15 that make something more likely to be awarded,
16 in your view?

17 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

18 THE WITNESS: In our field, and
19 I think in academia in general, the core
20 is how do you create new knowledge?

21 Quantitative research can just
22 test what is already existing, so there's
23 limited theoretical contribution there.

24 You use qualitative research
25 when you're trying to study something

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 103

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 that's new or groundbreaking phenomenon,
3 which is what the gig economy is.

4 And so because qualitative
5 research is a method poised to look at
6 new and emerging phenomenon, it allows us
7 to push what we know about theory and
8 that's one of the reasons it receives so
9 many awards.

10 BY MR. WYATT:

11 Q. I see.

12 So academia places an emphasis
13 on development of new theories, is that what
14 you're saying?

15 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

16 THE WITNESS: I'm saying
17 academia values creating new knowledge.

18 And qualitative research is
19 suited to create new knowledge and
20 develop new theories, because it allows
21 you to look at new phenomenon, as opposed
22 to quantitative research, you are just
23 testing what is already known, so the
24 contribution is more limited.

25 BY MR. WYATT:

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 104

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Q. And quantitative research is
3 there to validate the new theories that
4 qualitative research creates?

5 Is that a right way to think
6 about it?

7 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

8 THE WITNESS: Not quite.

9 BY MR. WYATT:

10 Q. In what way?

11 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

12 THE WITNESS: A quantitative
13 theory can never actually test the theory
14 that qualitative proposes, because
15 qualitative theory is much -- it's more
16 abstract.

17 It's more generalizable, it's
18 what we would consider like grand
19 socialist theory about how systems works.

20 You know, what a quantitative
21 measure can do is only test a very small
22 part of that and it can't -- you know, it
23 has to make lots of assumptions and its
24 measurements and what constructs it can
25 map on to.

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Page 105

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 So your -- I think the comment
3 of, can you -- do you test quantitative
4 theory with qualitative, just doesn't
5 make sense, from within the lens of our
6 profession.

7 BY MR. WYATT:

8 Q. Okay.

9 I think I understand that.
10 So how does one know whether a
11 qualitative theory is correct?

12 A. So there's a great book that I
13 cite in the report. I think it's Small and
14 Calarco, 2022. It's called Developing
15 Qualitative Literacy and they have six
16 different dimensions.

17 I mean, these are people who are
18 not only award-winning qualitative researchers,
19 but like sit on the board of the
20 National Science Foundation for, like,
21 evaluating these research proposals, and I also
22 do work at the National Science Foundation.

23 But if there's, like, six
24 different things about how can you test a
25 qualitative research and the theory is

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 106

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 rigorous.

3 I'm not going to remember all
4 six, but I know they're in the paper, but it
5 includes, like, palpability of the data,
6 heterogenically, the rest are in there, but
7 there's -- there's a system of how do you
8 evaluate qualitative research.

9 And I think qualitative research
10 goes to the peer-review process, just like
11 quantitative research.

12 BY MR. WYATT:

13 Q. Do you know if theories
14 generated through the qualitative process have
15 been accepted to the form of expert opinion by
16 courts of law?

17 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

18 THE WITNESS: I don't even know
19 how to answer that question.

20 BY MR. WYATT:

21 Q. Is that something that people in
22 academia think about when crafting theory as --
23 as whether those theories would be accepted in
24 a court of law?

25 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 107

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Calls for a legal conclusion and
3 complete hypothetical.

4 THE WITNESS: I've never thought
5 of this question before. I don't know if
6 I can answer. I don't think I can say
7 this question.

8 BY MR. WYATT:

9 Q. Have you published your work
10 previously in law reviews or law journals?

11 A. No. I have not.

12 I have some qualitative work in
13 law journals, though. Veena Dubal, if you're
14 familiar with her work?

15 Q. I am not, but I'll take a look
16 at it.

17 A. She publishes a lot about the
18 ride-hailing industry and Uber.

19 She's at UC Hastings.

20 Q. How do you spell the last name?

21 A. Dubal, D-u-b-a-l.

22 Q. Okay.

23 A. I actually have an article
24 coming out with her shortly.

25 Q. Okay. What about?

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Page 108

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 A. The concept is called Ghost
3 Variables. So it's about how things, like,
4 race, gender, cast, immigration status,
5 actually shape work in the gig economy, but we
6 often don't see these variables and we're just
7 focused on the technology.

8 Q. Is that also a qualitative
9 piece?

10 A. It's more like a review essay.
11 So a lot of -- it's almost like
12 an edited volume, so where people put in their
13 different pieces. So my piece is theoretical.
14 I don't remember what type of data that Veena
15 is using in her piece.

16 Q. Okay. Switching gears slightly
17 to your -- your -- your studies, prior to your
18 current role.

19 Your undergraduate and masters
20 degrees are in electrical engineering, computer
21 science and engineering management.

22 Is that right?

23 A. Correct.

24 Q. And what was the path for you
25 from electrical engineering to structural --

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Page 109

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 I'm missing the second word, but your current
3 role?

4 A. Ethnographer.

5 Q. Ethnographer.

6 A. It's funny that you ask that,
7 we're actually not as unusual as you would
8 think. There are quite a few of us who start
9 in engineering and then end up doing
10 qualitative research, but, you know, I was
11 living in the Middle East for many years and
12 decided it was time for a career change and was
13 thinking about should I get an MBA or a PhD,
14 and I mentor said, hey, you're really smart I
15 think you're going to want to get a PhD, that
16 you won't be satisfied with an MBA, and that's
17 why I ended up in the PhD program.

18 Q. But teaching at business school,
19 so you kind of have the best of both worlds?

20 A. I enjoy being -- I enjoy my
21 academic life.

22 Q. Okay. Okay.

23 Did you study psychology or
24 sociology at all as an undergraduate or
25 master's student?

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Page 110

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 A. I did take a class in psychology
3 as an undergrad. I'm trying to think. I felt
4 like I took -- and I think I took some that
5 might have been sociology in public health,
6 maybe, as an undergrad too.

7 I'm not sure of my master's
8 program. I know I learned a lot about
9 terrorist and counter-terrorism psychology, but
10 I can't remember if that was in my degree
11 program or that was more of my job because, you
12 know, I served in the Middle East for a long
13 time.

14 Q. And what was your role when you
15 were in the Middle East?

16 A. I worked with the U.S.
17 Intelligence Community. I was an analyst.

18 Q. And did that draw in your --
19 your undergrad background, your electrical
20 engineering and computer science skills?

21 A. It did. Also drew on my French
22 and Arabic skills. It drew on my understanding
23 cultures, like culture and how people work and
24 think. It was very interdisciplinary, my work
25 in the government.

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 111

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Q. Did you ever take any classes on
3 law in any of your -- in any of your education?

4 A. No.

5 Q. And then if we look at your CV,
6 you got your PhD in 2020?

7 A. Correct.

8 Q. And how long was that program?

9 A. I entered in 2013.

10 Q. And did you focus on
11 organizational management for that entire
12 period or no?

13 A. My first year I was more micro,
14 I focused more on organizational behavior. But
15 by my second -- beginning of my third year, I
16 was more in organizational theory.

17 Q. Okay. And then when did you
18 begin your project of driving on and speaking
19 with drivers on, you know, who used the Uber
20 platform?

21 A. 2016.

22 Q. Okay. And how long that that
23 project continue?

24 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

25 THE WITNESS: I would say it's

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Page 112

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 not over. This is all -- this is all my
3 research. This is all I do.

4 BY MR. WYATT:

5 Q. Okay. Fair enough.

6 But it was -- I mean, there was
7 a -- there was a dissertation that some of the
8 work was done for.

9 Is that fair?

10 A. Yes. That's true.

11 Q. And what was the kind of
12 dissertation era of this project?

13 A. I finished my dissertation in
14 2020.

15 Q. Okay. And did you continue,
16 though, driving on the platform after 2020?

17 A. No.

18 Q. Did you continue interviewing
19 drivers and riders after 2020?

20 A. Yes.

21 Q. And do those interviews continue
22 to this day of drivers and riders?

23 A. No. So after 2020, I only
24 actually interviewed drivers. I don't think I
25 interviewed riders after 2020, and I have not

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 113

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 interviewed a driver in the United States since
3 2020, I believe.

4 Q. Okay.

5 A. Approximately I've interviewed
6 drivers in other areas of the world since then,
7 but I think that's when I stopped interviewing
8 drivers in the United States, I think.

9 Q. And have your -- have your
10 opinions changed since your dissertation at
11 all?

12 A. They've become much more refined
13 since my dissertation. That is clear.

14 Q. Okay. Can you think of some
15 specific examples of the ways it's been more
16 refined?

17 A. I mean just, you know, the way I
18 talk about autonomy and control, it's a
19 dissertation, so it's not nearly as precise as
20 the way I talk about autonomy and control and
21 flexibility right now.

22 You know, there are different
23 levels of rigor that are required to graduate
24 with a dissertation versus getting a paper
25 published.

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 114

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 And, you know, if -- like, one
3 of my papers has won like six or seven
4 different paper awards, so it's obviously a
5 very different -- or final product than what my
6 dissertation was.

7 Q. Okay. Let's -- sorry.

8 MR. WYATT: Okay.

9 I'm introducing your
10 dissertation as Exhibit 9. It should be
11 arriving in just a second.

12 - - -

13 (Whereupon the document was
14 marked, for identification purposes, as
15 Exhibit Number 9.)

16 - - -

17 BY MR. WYATT:

18 Q. -- (inaudible) -- one second.

19 Okay. Is this it?

20 A. Yeah. That's it.

21 Q. Hopefully not giving you any --
22 (inaudible)?

23 A. A little bit.

24 Q. -- all right.

25 If we go to -- okay.

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Page 115

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 If we go to Page 50, you write,

3 "Several factors distinguish ride-hailing
4 companies from liveries, resulting in their
5 classification and regulation as technology
6 companies. While both ride-hailing drivers and
7 taxi drivers are independent contractors,
8 ride-hailing drivers own or lease vehicles from
9 an approved third-party vendor as opposed to
10 owning an medallion."

11 Did I read that correctly?

12 A. Yes. You did.

13 Q. Okay. And is that still your
14 understanding of ridesharing companies and
15 their comparison and contrast from liveries and
16 taxis?

17 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

18 THE WITNESS: So one thing --
19 you know, are independent contractors, I
20 would say are classified as independent
21 contractors.

22 I mean, I'm not making a
23 statement about whether or not -- what
24 the legal classification of these workers
25 should be, understanding what is in law,

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 116

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 but there is a lot more that
3 distinguishes ride-hailing companies from
4 taxis than just that first sentence that
5 I have written.

6 BY MR. WYATT:

7 Q. And what are some of those
8 things, if you have anything specific in mind,
9 that distinguished them from taxis?10 A. I would imagine, if we kept
11 reading, I would start listing some of them,
12 but the first thing that comes to mind is
13 algorithmic management.

14 Q. Okay. Anything else?

15 A. Yeah. Let me -- I'll sit here
16 and think for a minute.

17 Q. Sure.

18 A. So the algorithmic management
19 includes a lot of things about rating, pricing,
20 maybe where the vehicle can't -- or well --
21 where not the vehicle can travel to, that's
22 actually outside of algorithmic management.23 The safety checks for each --
24 for taxis and ride-hailing companies might be
25 different.

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Page 117

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 By far the business model and
3 where profits go, or -- you know, the loyalty
4 programs that -- that ride-hailing companies
5 have, the taxi companies don't have is another
6 difference.

7 I mean, this is not -- I'm
8 telling you what I know from knowing the --
9 like, my expertise, but I -- like, it's not
10 my -- I have not written a paper that compares
11 taxis versus ride-hailing drivers and I think
12 Nick Ochutu, in 2017, did.

13 I mean, other people have,
14 that's just not the type of paper I've written
15 before.

16 Q. Okay. Okay.

17 And I appreciate that. Okay.

18 I think that's all the questions
19 I have on this for now. We may come back to
20 this, but we'll take it down.

21 And shifting gears here to your
22 report, which I'll put back up here in a
23 minute, but you're here today as a -- as a
24 rebuttal expert.

25 Is that right?

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Page 118

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 A. Yes.

3 Q. And I think you're rebutting
4 certain opinions by Mr. Okapaku.

5 Is that your understanding as
6 well?

7 A. Correct.

8 Q. Anybody else that you -- any
9 other expert on the Uber side that you're
10 responding to or intending to respond to?

11 A. No. I haven't -- I haven't read
12 anybody else's rebuttal report. And -- oh, and
13 I just wanted to add, I think Veena Dubal has
14 written a lot comparing taxis to Uber drivers.

15 Q. Okay. Appreciate that.

16 Do you have a view as to what
17 makes your report a rebuttal report?

18 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

19 Calls for a legal conclusion.

20 THE WITNESS: Can you say it one
21 more time?

22 BY MR. WYATT:

23 Q. Sure.

24 Your report is titled Rebuttal
25 Report. I'm just wondering if you have a view

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Page 119

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 as to what makes it a rebuttal report.

3 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

4 THE WITNESS: I think what makes
5 it a rebuttal report is I sort of go and
6 dispute things that the other person said
7 and provide rationale, reasoning,
8 backing, about why I'm disagreeing about
9 certain points they raised.

10 BY MR. WYATT:

11 Q. Okay. And do you think there
12 are parts of your report that would standalone,
13 even if you weren't responding to Mr. Okapaku
14 specifically?

15 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

16 THE WITNESS: What does that
17 mean, standalone for what?

18 BY MR. WYATT:

19 Q. Well, is there a version of this
20 report that you could write that wouldn't be
21 responsive to any particular expert, but would
22 just be a report of yours on the issues you
23 discuss in the report?

24 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

25 THE WITNESS: It could be,

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 120

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 depending on what question you ask.

3 BY MR. WYATT:

4 Q. That's fair.

5 And I guess what I'm getting at
6 is, you do address Mr. Okapaku in some parts of
7 your report but not others, is that fair?

8 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

9 THE WITNESS: I address
10 Mr. Okapaku directly in the first part
11 where I say, summary of -- what do I call
12 it? Summary of Rebuttal Arguments.13 But then I -- the -- the other
14 part of the report, I sort of add in all
15 the reason, like, that's a summary and
16 then the rest of my report speaks to why
17 I'm able to have the rebuttal against
18 him.19 It's, like, providing the -- the
20 evidence or the data I need for the
21 summary claims. So, in my mind, they
22 speak to one another.

23 BY MR. WYATT:

24 Q. Okay. So the first -- let's
25 see -- in Paragraphs 14 -- the section you just

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Page 121

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 described is called -- I'll start over.

3 Part 3 of your report is
4 Summary of Rebuttal Arguments RE, Joseph
5 Okpaku's Report, correct?

6 A. Correct.

7 Q. And then Paragraphs 14 through
8 25 kind of speak directly to Mr. Okapaku and
9 his opinions, right?

10 A. Correct.

11 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

12 BY MR. WYATT:

13 Q. And then, I'll represent to you,
14 Mr. Okapaku is not mentioned in Paragraphs 26
15 through 98, which is the rest of the report.

16 Is all of those -- are all of
17 those paragraphs, though, responding to
18 Mr. Okapaku?

19 A. I see them as responding to
20 Mr. Okapaku, because in the paragraphs -- lets
21 say in Paragraph 14, I sort of have -- I think
22 actually Paragraph 16 is actually a better
23 example.

24 You know, I say -- the name of
25 the industry is ride-hailing, then I talk about

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 122

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 algorithmic management by saying Uber matches
3 workers and customers and then I say, see
4 Section IX.

5 So while the second half of the
6 report doesn't actually say Mr. Okapaku's name,
7 I don't see Paragraph 16 as standing on its own
8 without Section IX, because Section IX is the
9 one that provides all the research and the
10 detail to speak to it.

11 Q. I see.

12 So 16 needs Section IX to flush
13 out what you're saying in 16.

14 Is that a summary of what you
15 just said?

16 A. Yes. I agree with you.

17 Q. Okay. But if we deleted
18 Paragraphs 14 through 25 and Section III and
19 left the rest of the report, would that report
20 standalone?

21 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

22 Calls for a legal conclusion.

23 THE WITNESS: So you asked me
24 that question before, and the question --
25 the -- the -- my response then is, well,

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 123

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 it would depend on what you want the
3 report to be about, like, what the
4 question is and whether or not it could
5 actually standalone.

6 I don't -- I don't know what the
7 form of report is supposed to be.

8 BY MR. WYATT:

9 Q. That's a totally fair response.
10 And I see, for example, in
11 Paragraph 2 of your report -- or actually
12 Paragraphs 1 and 2, under the heading,
13 Purpose of the Report, I have been asked -- and
14 then you kind of describe what you've been
15 asked to do.

16 Is that fair?

17 A. Yes.

18 Q. Okay. So if I hear what you're
19 saying, you know, you've been asked to do a
20 thing and so whether the report would stand on
21 its own depends in part on whether you would
22 answer the question you've been asked to
23 answer.

24 Is that fair?

25 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 124

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 THE WITNESS: I agree.

3 Yes.

4 BY MR. WYATT:

5 Q. Okay. Let me see.

6 Let's go then to the specifics
7 of the summary of the rebuttal, which starts at
8 Paragraph 14 and I'll put this back on the
9 screen so we can know -- be on the same thing.

10 All right.

11 In Paragraph 14, you write, "I
12 find the analysis and conclusions of
13 Joseph Okpaku's report incomplete and often
14 inaccurately. Okpaku is not an academic and
15 has not received a PhD, though, I acknowledge
16 he's received a terminal degree in his field.
17 To the best of my knowledge, he does not teach
18 doctoral-level courses in any research
19 methodology and has not written any
20 peer-reviewed academic research", correct?

21 A. Correct.

22 Q. Okay. Why is it important
23 whether Mr. Okapaku have a Phd, in your field?

24 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

25 THE WITNESS: So I didn't say he

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 125

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 needed to have a Phd in my field, but
3 there's a level of rigor, to be frank,
4 that I didn't find in Joseph Okpaku's
5 report.

6 Even in reading his two medium
7 articles, I found those to be puff
8 pieces, you know, very -- and so the fact
9 that he was not defining terms, not using
10 evidence that I would find rigorous or
11 critical, that all that made me not feel
12 like his report was incomplete and
13 inaccurate.

14 So does one need a PhD to be
15 able to have complete and accurate
16 results? I mean, I'm sure there are
17 people that can do high-quality research
18 without a doctoral-level degree, but in
19 general, I found that his report was just
20 -- it was weak.

21 BY MR. WYATT:

22 Q. And -- sorry. Go ahead.

23 A. I said it was weak, not
24 rigorous.

25 Q. Okay.

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 126

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 And if I asked why is it
3 important that he doesn't teach doctoral
4 courses and research methodology, would you
5 have a similar answer?

6 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

7 THE WITNESS: I would say one of
8 the ways you really get to know your
9 craft is if you can teach other people
10 your craft.

11 And so, one, he hasn't sort of
12 -- in my mind, sort of shown the chops to
13 be able to do research.

14 And, two, he's not teaching,
15 which again, doesn't show the expertise
16 in being able to conduct research, but
17 also even being able to consume research.

18 I mean, some of the studies that
19 he cited were not considered rigorous or
20 well done or there was lots of research
21 he missed.

22 And so there's -- being able to
23 do research, there's also, can he even
24 evaluate research?

25 So I didn't see him making any

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Page 127

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 sort of these intellectual moves I would
3 expect one to do in a solid expert
4 report.

5 BY MR. WYATT:

6 Q. And what's the metric you're
7 using to evaluate the solidness of an expert
8 report?9 A. Well, I mean, part of it is what
10 I wrote in Paragraph 14 to 25. There are all
11 of these critiques that I made about different
12 claims he was making.13 I'm also looking at what type of
14 research that he's drawing on, whether it's,
15 you know, what his experience is, what research
16 papers he's citing, what reports he's -- he's
17 bringing on, how is he defining terms? How is
18 he logically building an argument from topic
19 sentence to supporting evidence?20 These are all different parts
21 of, like, how I would evaluate the solidness of
22 research. And it's the thing that I do every
23 single day, you know, teaching my students, but
24 also as -- you know, on editorial boards of
25 journals or doing peer-reviewed research.

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Page 128

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Q. And so are you holding

3 Mr. Okapaku to a standard that would apply to
4 academic research?

5 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

6 THE WITNESS: That's an
7 interesting question and I would say not
8 quite, because I've seen good expert
9 reports from people who don't have PhDs.

10 And so I do not feel the quality
11 of Joseph Okpaku's work was at that
12 level.

13 BY MR. WYATT:

14 Q. Okay. But you're not aware of
15 what the standard is for the admissibility of
16 expert testimony in a court of law, correct?

17 A. No. Actually, I'm not. No.

18 Q. Okay.

19 And do you know -- are you aware
20 that one of the issues that may come up in
21 these cases is whether it relates to the legal
22 question of control?

23 A. I think that will come up.

24 Q. And do you think it would be
25 helpful in understanding the answer to that

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 129

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 question to have a law degree?

3 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

4 THE WITNESS: I can't answer
5 that question.

6 BY MR. WYATT:

7 Q. Fair enough.

8 A. Because control is defined
9 differently in different disciplines. I don't
10 know how conclusions are made in a court of
11 law.

12 Q. Is that something that you
13 evaluated in your research, is how control
14 specifically is defined differently in
15 different disciplines?

16 A. No.

17 Q. Does it come up in the research
18 that you do?

19 I mean, do you ever read a --
20 something in literature and say, they're really
21 not using control the way that I think -- I
22 think about it?

23 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

24 THE WITNESS: No. I mean, in my
25 reports, I try to be very explicit.

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 130

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 I'm using it from an
3 organizational lens.

4 BY MR. WYATT:

5 Q. Do you do a lot of reading in
6 your field such that you encounter sort of
7 other fields' approaches to concepts that you,
8 you know, kind of focus on in your own academic
9 work?

10 A. Sorry.

11 I wasn't -- I wasn't quite done.

12 Q. I'm sorry. Go ahead, please.

13 A. But my thought was going along
14 your line of questions. But there is a paper
15 where I talk about consent, and I do have a
16 discussion, how do you think about consent from
17 sociological perspective, a legal perspective,
18 an ethics perspective, a psychological
19 perspective.

20 So I do think about them and I
21 use them to inform my organizational theory,
22 but I don't say this is right or this is wrong.

23 Q. Okay. So are you -- are you
24 addressing the methodology that Mr. Okapaku
25 used in his report or something else?

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Page 131

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

3 THE WITNESS: I'm objecting
4 to -- I mean, there -- I have issues with
5 many things in Okpaku's report. It's not
6 just the methodology.

7 BY MR. WYATT:

8 Q. Okay. And we'll look at -- your
9 summary, I think, raises some of those things,
10 and so maybe that's the best way to talk
11 through it, but if there's other things that we
12 don't cover that you think are important,
13 please let me know.

14 Turning to Paragraph 15, for
15 example, you start with, "Because it depends so
16 heavily on anecdotal information and lacks
17 rigorous analytical methodology, his report
18 lacks accuracy, validity and generalizability."

19 Do you see that?

20 A. Correct.

21 Q. And what's the anecdotal
22 information you're referring to here?

23 A. Oh, there's one section where he
24 says, there was a summer I was in Washington,
25 D.C. and saw -- I think there was a government

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Page 132

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 shutdown or the metro was not working, and I
3 saw a lot of people driving from ride-hailing
4 and there's another example where he's, like,
5 and I met a teacher who drove for Lyft during
6 her summer breaks.

7 And it's -- I mean, it's not --
8 it's not even journalist, like, journalists
9 look at qualitative data and sort of build up
10 inferences. You don't even have to do academic
11 research at the rigor I am, but there is a way
12 of which it almost felt like he was
13 cherry-picking a few personal examples from his
14 life and putting it into the report, and that,
15 to me, didn't feel rigorous.

16 Q. And you would not characterize,
17 I take it, like, a structured interview of the
18 driver as anecdotal information or would you?

19 I don't know.

20 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

21 THE WITNESS: So to give a full
22 answer, a structure -- I don't do
23 structured interviews. I do
24 semi-structured interviews.

25 BY MR. WYATT:

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Page 133

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Q. Okay.

3 A. And a semi-structured interview
4 has a question behind it and you're
5 interviewing more than one person. You're
6 interviewing, you know, a group of people that
7 have been theoretically sampled for a
8 particular reason to answer a research
9 question.

10 And you're often collecting data
11 from multiple sources, maybe you're getting
12 archival data or you're working on the job or
13 you're interviewing people at different levels
14 in the organization.

15 So that's not -- anecdotal is,
16 like, I talked to my barber down the street,
17 which is quite -- there's no interview
18 protocol. There's no research question.
19 There's no multiple sources of data. They're
20 quite -- they're quite different.

21 Q. And so a couple questions about
22 that. You mentioned that there would be a
23 group of people that have been theoretically
24 sampled for a particular reason.

25 What does theoretically sampled

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 134

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 mean?

3 A. So theoretical sampling, I'll
4 probably try to describe abstractly and then
5 more specific.

6 It's, like, you have a research
7 question about X and in the beginning, X can be
8 very vague. And so you're talking to people,
9 you're -- you're interviewing people, you're
10 collecting archival data, maybe you're -- you
11 know, looking at maybe getting some other type
12 of digital data, maybe like digital-trace data.

13 And as you're thinking, okay,
14 the question is no longer X, the question I
15 think I'm really interested in is X prime. So
16 now I'm going to look for things that are
17 related to X prime.

18 So there's, like, a narrowing of
19 your research question and you might only now
20 interview people who are X prime people,
21 because that matches to what the theory is, so
22 that's not clear.

23 I can give you an empirical
24 example, but that's what theoretical sampling
25 is.

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Page 135

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Q. No I think that's clear enough
3 for me to ask my next question, which is, is
4 this different from random sampling as one
5 would do in quantitative research?

6 A. Yes.

7 It is the complete opposite.
8 I just taught my PhD class on
9 this yesterday. Yes. There's two different
10 motivations that go behind sampling happens of
11 qualitative versus quantitative.

12 Quantitative will -- can either,
13 one, do a representative sample, like, if
14 you're doing a national survey or can be
15 random, for example, like RCT, a random control
16 trial, that's because quantitative research
17 cares about the average.

18 Qualitative research cares about
19 variance. And so because of that, you do the
20 theoretical sampling that I talked about.

21 Q. That makes sense, but then
22 aren't there challenges to extrapolating from a
23 qualitative sample to a broad population?

24 A. That's where your theorizing
25 comes in, is can you -- the claims of knowledge

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 136

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 that you make are different from -- from
3 quantitative research versus qualitative.

4 Quantitative research is good
5 if -- if I need to get my knee replaced, will
6 this knee replacement work? Qualitative
7 research is about how systems and
8 organizational processes unfold.

9 So it's more about how
10 mechanisms and the lie of how something
11 happens. So it's just different knowledge
12 claims that you're making.

13 Q. I think I understand that, but
14 if we want to know, say, whether drivers in
15 general feel controlled by gamification, to
16 take an example, wouldn't we have to do a
17 quantitative analysis of that to know the
18 answer?

19 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

20 THE WITNESS: No.

21 I mean, there are many papers
22 that talk about this that use qualitative
23 research that are peer-reviewed that have
24 won awards, including my own research.

25 BY MR. WYATT:

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 137

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Q. Well, does your research make
3 claims, though, about sort of what drivers
4 generally experience?

5 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

6 THE WITNESS: One of my papers,
7 so I'm thinking about the one about
8 workplace games and workplace games are
9 different from gamification and we could
10 have a conversation about that if that
11 becomes important.

12 I argue how workplace games are
13 a form of control and keep people
14 embedded in their work, and I mean, I am
15 not the only person that's come to this
16 conclusion.

17 I mean, Burawoy has, Salis has,
18 Rachel Sherman, I mean, there's at
19 least -- there are a lot of people who
20 have made similar claims and often from
21 qualitative data.

22 BY MR. WYATT:

23 Q. Are the claims in your report
24 generalizable?

25 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

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Page 138

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 THE WITNESS: I would say yes,
3 they're generalizable.4 So one of the hallmarks about
5 qualitative research, if you're trying to
6 speak to theory and it's very abstract,
7 is generalizable.8 And there is -- there are tables
9 that I use in my doctoral class that has
10 these words that you think about, what
11 does generalizable mean from a
12 quantitative perspective versus what does
13 generalizability mean in a qualitative,
14 so the same word will have different
15 meanings depending on your methods.16 But, yes, my research is
17 considered generalizable, but I also
18 think beyond the fact that just the fact
19 that it's peer-reviewed and won a bunch
20 of awards, there are multiple people who
21 have found this exact same finding, like,
22 not even just in ride-hailing, though
23 that is -- (inaudible) -- 2019, and
24 Vanderbrand and Chan, 2022, have all
25 found control being linked to gains in

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 139

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 ride-hailing.

3 But people have found this exact
4 same phenomenon in lawyers, for example,
5 or factory workers. So when you have
6 multiple people finding the exact same
7 finding in multiple -- the same research
8 cite and multiple research sites, that
9 signals generalizability.

10 BY MR. WYATT:

11 Q. Okay. So let's go back to your
12 dissertation for a second. And this is on
13 Page 99, it's limitations and future research.

14 Do you see that?

15 A. Right.

16 Q. And you write, "Several of the
17 study's limitations provide opportunities for
18 future research. You note that participants
19 were predominantly men and all were living in
20 North America. And future research could
21 explore the transferability of the model to
22 contexts with different gender and cultural
23 compositions", right?

24 A. Yes.

25 Q. And so is this a statement that

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Page 140

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 at least the dissertation was limited, in terms
3 of its generalizability?

4 A. This is being taken out of
5 context, because I don't know what study we're
6 talking about and we were just talking about
7 workplace games, and I -- I talked about how
8 the workplace games concept is transferable to
9 all these different sites.

10 So this is -- what -- what is --
11 what is a research question I'm trying to
12 answer? It has to be tighter. You know, what
13 I mentioned earlier, like, this -- you know,
14 it's a dissertation, so it's more abstract, can
15 see, how does this fit in other settings?

16 So I don't know what the
17 research question is. I'm not sure what the
18 right other settings are.

19 Q. Okay. This is from your
20 dissertation, right?

21 A. Right. But it says this study.
22 I don't know what -- there's -- it's a
23 two-study dissertation and actually games was
24 not part of this dissertation at this stage.

25 So this -- I feel like this is

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 141

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 just taking -- it's not a fair comparison when
3 you were asking me for about games and
4 generalizability and then pulling out this one
5 sentence from an older piece of research.

6 Q. And I didn't mean -- I didn't
7 mean to focus on games, but my question was
8 whether -- was more focused on whether this is
9 a statement about this type of research in
10 general, qualitative research, or if it's just
11 limited to whatever was discussed in this
12 dissertation.

13 A. Say that one more time?

14 Q. Yeah. Is this limitation about,
15 you know, what I said is generalizability, is
16 that applicable to qualitative research in
17 general or is this specific to the
18 dissertation?

19 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

20 THE WITNESS: I don't think I
21 quite am following the question.

22 BY MR. WYATT:

23 Q. Well, let me -- let me try a
24 different document.

25 Hold on a second.

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Page 142

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Let's do this.

3 MR. WYATT: This will be
4 Exhibit 10.

5 - - -

6 (Whereupon the document was
7 marked, for identification purposes, as
8 Exhibit Number 10.)

9 - - -

10 MR. WYATT: Let's open it up on
11 the screen.

12 BY MR. WYATT:

13 Q. Do you see this article on the
14 screen?

15 A. Yes.

16 Q. And this is an article that
17 you're a coauthor of, right?

18 A. Exactly.

19 Q. 2023, Algorithmic -- Algorithmic
20 Management: Its Implications for Information
21 Systems Research?

22 A. Uh-huh.

23 Q. And --

24 A. I just want to note that
25 Manuscript ID says.R1, I'm not sure if that's

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Page 143

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 the final version, because R1 usually implies
3 it's a revision.

4 Q. Okay. And I think that's fine.

5 It does say for review only, so maybe this is
6 not the final version?

7 A. Uh-huh.

8 Q. But I will want to ask you some
9 questions about it, so just give me a second.

10 Let's see.

11 Okay. Do you see this
12 conclusion, key takeaways for information
13 systems research?

14 A. Yes.

15 Q. Okay. And then if we go down
16 toward the bottom, it says, "Future research
17 from an IS perspective", and does that mean an
18 information systems' perspective?

19 A. Yes.

20 Q. Okay. "May therefore continue
21 to use qualitative methods such as ethnography
22 and discourse analysis of online communities."

23 Do you see that?

24 A. Yes.

25 Q. And then, it says, "They're also

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 144

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 suitable to study among those developing or
3 implementing algorithmic management", which is
4 what we've been talking about, right?

5 A. Yes.

6 Q. And then while many examine
7 algorithmic management from a worker
8 perspective, we also see the need to adopt from
9 a managerial perspective, right?

10 A. Yes.

11 Q. "Specifically, in-depth
12 qualitative accounts of how managers respond to
13 the introduction of algorithmic management and
14 the act on algorithm-based insights are key."

15 A. Yes.

16 Q. And then it says, "At the same
17 time, such methods face limitations, including
18 generalizability."

19 A. Uh-huh.

20 Q. Isn't that saying that
21 qualitative research has limitations, including
22 generalizability?

23 A. That is what that sentence says.

24 Q. I did not write that sentence.

25 Q. Okay.

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 145

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 A. I think you saw there was six or
3 seven co-authors there.

4 Q. I did.

5 So do you agree with that
6 statement?

7 A. When you're thinking about
8 generalizability, I do believe you're
9 describing it -- the way you're asking, is it
10 representative of all people?

11 That's not how I understand
12 generalizability to mean from a qualitative
13 perspective.

14 So generalizability, to me, is,
15 is it a general process that can be replicated
16 in other contexts? Yes, I think that's what
17 qualitative research is good at.

18 Will there be a mechanism that
19 might change? For example, the way I find that
20 workplace games are created in ride-hailing is
21 actually different a bit than how lawyers do
22 workplace games.

23 But in my mind that is still
24 generalizable even if, like, all the -- it's
25 almost like A leads to B leads to C, that's

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 146

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 what generalizable.

3 But A prime, B prime, some of
4 the distinctions may not be exactly the same
5 and that's what quantitative research is good
6 at.7 So if you're going to push me
8 on, like, generalizability, does it transfer
9 exactly the same across contexts? I'd be like
10 well, no, that's not generalizable, but I don't
11 hold generalizability to that same standard
12 because that's a quantitative standard, I hold
13 it to a qualitative standard.14 Q. Okay. Okay. That's helpful,
15 thanks. Let me ask you about reliability.16 Is reliability a concept that
17 applies to qualitative research?

18 A. It does.

19 Q. And how -- how does it apply?

20 A. So I am not going to remember
21 right now, off the top of my head, but I
22 believe what -- okay. Let me take that back.23 I think reliability is the work
24 of quantitative research.

25 Like, I have -- I have a whole

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 147

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 deck where I say, these are the words in
3 quantitative research and it's what they
4 translate to qualitative research.

5 I think reliability is a
6 quantitative word that we actually -- we use to
7 be triangulation in qualitative research.

8 Q. Okay. And what does
9 triangulation entail?

10 A. Triangulation is, can you get
11 the same piece of data -- and by data, I don't
12 mean, like, the same word, but like the same
13 concept, the same theme from multiple sources.

14 So can you get it from
15 observation and archival and from interviews
16 about a game? It's not as if -- reliability
17 would be, like, could somebody else look at my
18 same data set and produce the same results, and
19 that's not qualitative, that's a quantitative
20 approach.

21 So I believe -- and quantitative
22 research, I think the right translation is
23 triangulation.

24 Q. Okay.

25 And is reproducibility not a

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 148

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 focus of qualitative research?

3 A. No. Not so much.

4 Q. And why is that?

5 A. Because -- so there's different
6 perspectives in qualitative research.

7 There's a -- it goes all the way
8 from interpretive to positive. A positive is
9 would have a belief that it should be
10 replicable, like, someone else should be able
11 to look at my data, be able to do counts of how
12 many times somebody uses a positive -- word,
13 and put that in a progression model, that's the
14 minority of qualitative research and that's not
15 what I do.

16 The interpretivist is social
17 construction of knowledge, and so that is, that
18 one person could look at my dataset and they
19 could write an article about, I don't know,
20 odor work or the feminization of gig work and,
21 I'll write something about control.

22 But even though we have
23 different perspectives, one of the things that
24 gives the research rigor and validity is the --
25 you know, I talked about those six parts, is

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 149

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON
2 the data heterogeneous, is it palatable, et
3 cetera, but also the fact that my findings have
4 been sort of bound by other researchers and
5 other disciplines shows there's rigor in a type
6 of research that is more socially constructed.

7 Q. Okay. Let's go back to your
8 report. So we're continuing through the
9 summary of rebuttal points and we're at
10 Paragraph 16. And you write, the name of
11 the -- well, actually let's back up.

12 End of paragraph, you say; "a
13 "few of these mistakes", referring to mistakes
14 made by Mr. Okapaku, are discussed as follows."

15 So that brings 16, which starts,
16 "The name of the industry is ride-hailing, not
17 ridesharing."

18 Do you see that?

19 A. Correct.

20 Q. And then you go on and say, this
21 is one of the mistakes -- let me find the
22 language. Oh, I'm sorry. I'm looking at the
23 wrong thing.

24 "Common for those with a
25 superficial understanding of the industry",

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 150

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 correct?

3 A. Correct.

4 Q. You understand that the term
5 ridesharing is widely used to describe rides
6 obtained with Uber or Lyft, correct?

7 A. A lot of people have a
8 superficial understanding.

9 Q. Okay. Well, I mean, is this
10 just a disagreement of terminology or just most
11 people are just wrong about this?

12 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

13 THE WITNESS: I honestly believe
14 that most people are wrong, because if
15 you look at the origin of what the
16 sharing economy means, that's actually
17 not what Uber is actually doing.

18 I do see it as a form of
19 greenwashing, of using this word sharing
20 that implies some sort of social
21 reciprocity like a time bank, which is
22 really not what Uber is not based off of.

23 And, you know, Alex Black talks
24 about this more in her book, so I would
25 recommend -- like, I've not written a

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 151

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 paper about this explicitly, but I think
3 in her book, from the best I can
4 remember, she talks about how this was a
5 purposeful phrase used as Uber grew to
6 sort of, you know, make it seem more
7 friendly and appealing and more, like,
8 you know, peer-to-peer, like, you're
9 getting into a car with, like, your
10 cousin or something like that.

11 She describes it as, like, a
12 purposeful choice by the company, to use
13 the word sharing as opposed to hailing or
14 something else.

15 BY MR. WYATT:

16 Q. But let me ask you this, I mean
17 do you think that Mr. Okapaku has only a
18 superficial understanding of the industry,
19 whether it's called ride-hailing or
20 ridesharing?

21 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

22 THE WITNESS: It's a good --
23 that's a really good question.

24 Instead of -- I -- I still -- I
25 think I still agree with the word

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 152

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 superficial, but there's a way in which
3 his perspective was not critical.

4 It's almost like there's --

5 there's a veneer in how the company --
6 any company wants to present itself.

7 And Mr. Okapaku was very much
8 repeating the veneer, which, to me,
9 felt -- like, a superficial engagement
10 of, you know, he -- he lists -- I spoke
11 at Aspen, I spoke at all these big events
12 and I read all this academic research and
13 I've done this for years, and that
14 supposed knowledge of studying the
15 industry in depth and being an insider
16 was not -- it wasn't relevant in his
17 report.

18 It didn't show -- I threw in his
19 report because there was a veneer, a
20 superficial level of understanding that
21 was expressed in the report.

22 BY MR. WYATT:

23 Q. And I mean, so you're aware that
24 Mr. Okapaku worked at Lyft for five and a half
25 years, correct?

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 153

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 A. I thought it was -- it was Lyft,
3 right? Yes.

4 Q. Yeah.

5 A. That -- yes. I'm aware that,
6 and there's a level of critical -- like,
7 critical thinking that I did not see evident in
8 that report.

9 Q. And did you know that he
10 worked -- he sort of had a direct hand in
11 helping develop legislation in several states
12 that govern ridesharing or ride-hailing?

13 A. Yes.

14 I remember him writing that.

15 Q. Okay. But nevertheless, you
16 stand on your claim that he has only a
17 superficial understanding of the ride-hailing
18 industry?

19 MS. POLLOCK: Objection.

20 Argumentative.

21 THE WITNESS: So what I think my
22 express wording was that he expressed
23 only a superficial understanding in his
24 report.

25 His actual understanding might

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 154

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 be different, that's what I saw in the
3 report, is I did not see critical
4 thinking in that report.

5 Like, a -- I didn't -- yeah.

6 I -- the -- from -- from using
7 the anecdotal evidence about the time
8 where I talked to a teacher and she was
9 working over the summer, to using the
10 word ridesharing, to the reports he was
11 reciting, it didn't -- the level of
12 sophistication in the report didn't match
13 what I would have expected someone with
14 his insight and experience to have.

15 BY MR. WYATT:

16 Q. In your view, does anything
17 about, you know, his expertise turn on whether
18 he uses the term ridesharing or ride-hailing?

19 A. I mean that --

20 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

21 It calls for a legal conclusion.

22 THE WITNESS: Say that question
23 one more time? Sorry.

24 BY MR. WYATT:

25 Q. Is part of your critique of

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 155

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Mr. Okapaku's ability to offer an opinion on
3 these issues turn on his use of the term
4 ridesharing or ride-hailing?5 A. That was just one of many things
6 that I saw in the report. That's not, like,
7 the lynch pin of using the word ridesharing as
8 opposed to ride-hailing.9 Q. Okay. And in fact, you've used
10 the word ridesharing in your only published
11 work, is that correct?12 A. I may have made that mistake
13 very early on.14 Q. But you've changed your mind
15 since then?16 A. Yes. Yeah. I'm an academic.
17 This is -- this is what I think
18 about all the time. My thoughts do evolve and
19 change.20 Because when you really do try
21 to understand what the sharing economy is
22 about, you do realize that's not actually what
23 most of the economies do. They're not having
24 the same ethos as the sharing economy.

25 Q. Let me show you one article.

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 156

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 MS. POLLOCK: We've been going
3 an hour. I don't know if now is a good
4 time for a break or after you get through
5 this document?

6 MR. WYATT: Let's just do this
7 document, because it will close out this
8 topic of ridesharing versus ride-hailing
9 and it will only take, like, two minutes,
10 if that works for you?

11 MS. POLLOCK: Okay.

12 - - -

13 (Whereupon the document was
14 marked, for identification purposes, as
15 Exhibit Number 11.)

16 - - -

17 MR. WYATT: All right. So I'm
18 introducing what is Exhibit 11.

19 BY MR. WYATT:

20 Q. I'm going to say it's going to
21 take two minutes, but I have not yet mastered
22 the introductions exhibits, so it takes less
23 than two minutes just to introduce it, but here
24 we are.

25 Do you recognize -- this is on

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 157

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 the screen -- this article?

3 A. Yes.

4 Q. Okay. And the title -- you see
5 the title, Ridesharing Services, we don't need
6 to belabor it, but this is an article that uses
7 that term, correct?

8 A. Yes. It was an earlier article
9 that I've written in 2008 with -- the
10 co-authors in another academic discipline,
11 you'll see I'm the first author.

12 But I'm not actually sure the --
13 the field was still trying to figure out, is it
14 ridesharing or is it ride-hailing too at the
15 time we were writing that.

16 Q. And to be clear, this is 2018,
17 correct, not 2008?

18 A. Yeah. Sorry if I misspoke.

19 2018.

20 Q. Okay. Do you know if these
21 authors, your co-authors, still use the term,
22 ridesharing?

23 A. No. I don't know.

24 Q. Do you still work with these
25 folks on other academic projects?

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 158

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 A. No. I don't.

3 Q. Okay.

4 MR. WYATT: Okay. Yeah.

5 Why don't we stop right there
6 and take a break?

7 THE WITNESS: Okay.

8 THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Going off the
9 video record. The time is 4:49 p.m.

10 - - -

11 (Whereupon, a recess took place
12 from 4:49 p.m. to 5:04 p.m.).

13 - - -

14 THE VIDEOGRAPHER: We are back
15 on the video record. The time is
16 5:04 p.m.

17 This begins Media Unit Number 3.

18 BY MR. WYATT:

19 Q. Welcome back, Dr. Cameron.

20 We were talking about the
21 summary in your report of -- rebuttal to
22 Mr. Okapaku and we left off at Paragraph 16.

23 Do you remember that?

24 A. Yes.

25 Q. So let me put the report back on

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 159

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 the screen. And moving on to Paragraph 17, you
3 write, "Another example of Okpaku's inaccuracy
4 is that the word, control, a key concept in
5 this case, is not defined in his report."

6 Do you see that?

7 A. Yes.

8 Q. What is your understanding of
9 why control is a key concept in this case?

10 A. Because it was a lot of the
11 conversations that I had with Jo Anne was about
12 control.

13 Q. And you say it is quite common,
14 further down, right here, "This
15 misunderstanding of control is quite common for
16 those with a surface-level understanding of the
17 on-demand economy", right?

18 A. Correct.

19 Q. And similar to the questions we
20 discussed previously, notwithstanding the fact
21 that Mr. Okapaku worked for Lyft for five and a
22 half years, your opinion is that he has a
23 surface-level understanding of the on-demand
24 economy, correct?

25 A. My opinion is that he expressed

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 160

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 a surface-level understanding, because he used
3 the word control, almost in a colloquial way,
4 not in a -- a way that actually had rigor or
5 teeth around it.

6 I was surprised, to be honest,
7 given his amount of expertise or working in the
8 gig economy to see that in his report.

9 Q. And part of what you're saying
10 here is part of the way he talks about control
11 is quite a common way for people to talk about
12 control.

13 Is that correct?

14 A. It's a common -- a common way
15 for those with a superficial understanding,
16 like, the general public will think, oh,
17 ride-hailing drivers have control because they
18 can chose when they went to work.

19 Take aside the point of whether
20 or not they actually have choice when they want
21 to work, really what they're talking about is
22 schedule flexibility. So there's, like, a
23 slippage in terms of the concept.

24 And I do think many people have
25 a slippage of understanding what's really

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 161

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 happening in this form of work and use words
3 that are inaccurate.

4 Q. And what's the definition of
5 control that you use in your report?

6 A. We have to go through the report
7 to find which paragraph, but I know I define
8 it.

9 Q. Yeah. Let me try to shortcut
10 it. Let me fast forward and you can tell me if
11 this is right or not.

12 Would this be where it is, how
13 organizational scholars define organizational
14 control and its importance?

15 A. Yes.

16 It would be in that section.

17 Q. Okay. And down here in
18 Paragraph 36, it says, "In the management and
19 organizational literature, organizational
20 control is defined as any process that aligns
21 an individual worker's capabilities,
22 activities, and performance with the
23 organization's goals and aspirations", correct?

24 A. Correct.

25 Q. And is that the definition that

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 162

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 is your operating definition in this report?

3 A. It is.

4 Q. Okay. Is it your view that how
5 organizational scholars define organizational
6 control is the relevant definition of control
7 for this case?

8 A. I can't --

9 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

10 THE WITNESS: -- oh, I can't
11 answer that question.

12 BY MR. WYATT:

13 Q. Okay.

14 MR. WYATT: And I'll close down
15 and introduce a new exhibit.

16 - - -

17 (Whereupon the document was
18 marked, for identification purposes, as
19 Exhibit Number 12.)

20 - - -

21 MR. WYATT: This will be
22 Exhibit 12 and I'll put it on the screen.
23 This is the report of Mr. Okapaku.

24 BY MR. WYATT:

25 Q. And you've seen this before,

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 163

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 correct?

3 A. Can you scroll down a little
4 bit?

5 Q. Yeah.

6 A. Yes.

7 Q. Okay. And if we go to Page 29
8 of his report, he has this concluding
9 paragraph, "For all of the above reasons, it is
10 my opinion that drivers have significant
11 control over the amount of their participation
12 on the Uber app, and that Uber does not
13 exercise control over drivers".

14 Do you see that?

15 A. Yes.

16 Q. And he's not mentioning
17 organizational control, correct?

18 A. Correct.

19 Q. And he's also talking about --

20 A. Wait. That's not true.

21 Uber does not exercise control
22 over its drivers. To me, that sounds like
23 organizational control, even though he's not
24 using the word organizational in front.

25 Q. Okay.

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 164

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 But he's not using the word
3 organizational, correct?

4 A. Correct.

5 Q. And he -- he is talking also
6 about the amount of control that drivers have,
7 correct?

8 A. True. He's using the word
9 control in two different ways in the same
10 sentence.

11 Q. And what is the way that you
12 would think about the control that drivers
13 assert, from your perspective?

14 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

15 BY MR. WYATT:

16 Q. If any?

17 A. It's different in every article,
18 to be honest, because it depends on how I'm
19 trying to theorize it.

20 So when you think of my
21 2024 ASQ, which is probably my most famous
22 work, I think of it in terms of consent and
23 I -- I define it as, like, engagement tactics
24 or deviant tactics with the work, and those are
25 both examples that people have in choice of the

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 165

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 algorithmic management system.

3 Q. Okay.

4 A. I try not to do what Mr. Okapaku
5 has done, which uses the same word two
6 different ways in the same sentence because
7 that's unclear and imprecise.

8 But the way the choices that
9 drivers have, I theorize that in different ways
10 in my research.

11 Q. And that's probably a little bit
12 of my question, which is, you wouldn't use the
13 term organizational control in describing the
14 amount of control that drivers have, however
15 you would describe that, correct?

16 A. You used the word control twice
17 in the same sentence, but I do agree with the
18 essence of your question.

19 It's not organizational control
20 is what's done by the organization. The amount
21 of choice that the workers have is something
22 different.

23 Q. And is that how you would refer
24 to it for the drivers' side is choice?

25 A. Each -- is different, depending

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 166

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 on what I'm trying to theorize.

3 Q. I see that. You said that.

4 Okay. I understand that.

5 But choice would be one concept
6 that you use in papers previously?

7 A. Yes.

8 Q. Okay. And I mean, do you agree
9 that drivers have significant control over the
10 amount of their participation on the app?

11 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

12 THE WITNESS: That's
13 interesting.

14 I think it really depends on
15 how -- because the -- the language is a
16 bit imprecise. It depends on how you
17 want to define it.

18 If he is trying to say, amount
19 of participation equals when I sign up
20 for the app or when I sign on, I would
21 say people do have a fair amount of
22 choice in choosing when they're going to
23 sign on. There's influence, but I would
24 say they have more choice.

25 If you're talking about what

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 167

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 actually happens when you're logged into
3 the app, then I would disagree with that
4 part of the sentence.

5 BY MR. WYATT:

6 Q. And what's that based on, the
7 disagreement with -- the part when you're
8 logged in?

9 A. Well, that's most of my
10 research, that talks about once you're logged
11 in, you're under the algorithmic management and
12 its control system.

13 So from that, what he's written
14 is actually not clear to me what he's referring
15 to.

16 Q. Well, do you agree that drivers
17 have choice as to when to log out of the app,
18 once they're logged in?

19 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

20 THE WITNESS: I would say, you
21 know, for the most part, yes. I mean,
22 people declining on multiple rides in a
23 row, they're asked to leave the app,
24 they're logged off.

25 So it's not a full unequivocal

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 168

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 yes, but I would say that people do have
3 more choice in choosing when to log in
4 and when to exit the app.

5 BY MR. WYATT:

6 Q. Okay. And if they're logged off
7 because of multiple denials, they can log back
8 in, right?

9 A. I'm not entirely sure.

10 I don't think that's true.

11 Let me -- that.

12 In times of doing my research,
13 that has not been true. I don't know what is
14 true at this moment, but I do believe -- I
15 think it's my 2024 ASQ, I talk about people who
16 did not -- you know, cut off multiple rides in
17 a row and then were locked out of the app for a
18 period of time and that's, you know, other
19 people have talked about that.

20 So my question -- and by other
21 people, I mean other researchers. So what I'm
22 trying to say is, no, I don't believe that
23 people have always just been able to log back
24 in if they've been logged out.

25 Q. Okay.

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 169

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 And do you know whether that was
3 true on the Uber platform or the Lyft platform
4 or both?

5 A. I can't remember off the top of
6 my head. No.

7 Q. Okay. Let me put your report
8 back up. And we're still on Paragraph 17 where
9 we're talking about the definition of control.

10 And further down, you write,
11 "Even if we were to exchange the word Okpaku
12 uses, control, with the more accurate word,
13 temporal flexibility, I will argue that
14 workers' temporal flexibility is quite
15 limited."

16 Do you see that?

17 A. Correct.

18 Q. And that is different from what
19 you have said about flexibility in the past,
20 correct?

21 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

22 THE WITNESS: I don't know.

23 BY MR. WYATT:

24 Q. Well, earlier we saw your
25 testimony from 2021 where you highlighted

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 170

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 flexibility as one of the virtues of driving on
3 the platform, correct?

4 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

5 THE WITNESS: I think I would
6 need to see both pieces side by side to
7 be able to give you a -- a -- an
8 appropriate answer.

9 BY MR. WYATT:

10 Q. Okay.

11 A. Because -- because I would also
12 want to note in that sentence, I don't think
13 you read the whole sentence and there was,
14 like, a caveat that was in parentheses, so I
15 also want to make sure we get the full meaning
16 of what was meant behind that sentence.

17 Q. So I think it gets back to the
18 point you were making a minute ago, right, this
19 second sentence, "While drivers do have choice
20 on when to log into the app, temporal
21 flexibility in terms of the timing of their
22 shift, their choices are greatly limited once
23 they are logged into the app and subject to
24 algorithmic management and control."

25 Is that what you were referring

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 171

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 to?

3 A. That was a follow-on sentence,
4 yes, that I think puts that previous sentence
5 in -- in more context.

6 Q. Okay. And so, if I can pull
7 back up the testimony we had, in the testimony,
8 you recall the benefits section and the
9 challenges section.

10 A. Yes.

11 Q. And then in the benefits
12 section, Part B was, "there are many benefits
13 to driving."

14 And down here, "most
15 importantly, because of the low barrier to
16 entry and scheduling flexibility, these
17 companies provide an opportunity for drivers to
18 earn who may not be able or even want to secure
19 traditional employment."

20 Do you see that?

21 A. Yes.

22 Q. And then it emphasizes, again,
23 the flexibility of the schedule around health
24 issues or child or elderly care, correct?

25 A. Correct.

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Page 172

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Q. So do you disagree with that
3 now, or --

4 A. No. No. Those two statements
5 are not in contradiction with each other.

6 Q. -- okay.

7 So it is an important feature
8 that there's scheduling flexibility, but,
9 nevertheless, there are limitations to that
10 once you're in the app?

11 Is that your --

12 A. Correct. There are limitations
13 once you're in the app and other -- but I also
14 do believe there are limits -- there are
15 constraints around this scheduling flexibility
16 of when you are -- sorry.

17 Let me strike that and go back.

18 Scheduling flexibility is around
19 the timing of the shift. I'm saying there is
20 some choice that workers have around the timing
21 of the shift.

22 There are ways that it's being
23 influenced by organizational control that I
24 have talked about. That's not in -- that
25 doesn't -- I think those are true between both

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Page 173

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 documents.

3 Once you log onto the app, the
4 amount of algorithmic management and control
5 intensifies over workers.

6 Q. Okay. And do you think it's
7 true that drivers can be their own boss on the
8 Uber or Lyft platforms?

9 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

10 THE WITNESS: What do you mean
11 by that?

12 Could you rephrase that?

13 BY MR. WYATT:

14 Q. Well, you note in one of your
15 papers that studies have shown -- and I can
16 show you the paper. I'll just pull it up.

17 MR. WYATT: Scratch the
18 question. Hold on a second.

19 BY MR. WYATT:

20 Q. Support For Social and Capital
21 Development -- this is the article we were
22 looking at right before the break, right?

23 A. Yes.

24 Q. I think this is the one that
25 talks about bowling alone, which is one of the

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Page 174

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 first books I read in college, so it's a trip
3 down memory lane for me.

4 Up here at the top of the second
5 column, it says, "Studies that contribute
6 insights from stakeholders, such as drivers and
7 passengers, find that driver benefits include
8 flexible work schedules and the opportunity to
9 be their own boss."

10 Do you see that?

11 A. Uh-huh. Yes.

12 Q. Do you disagree with that, that
13 drivers can be their own boss?

14 A. I believe that drivers believe
15 they can be their own boss.

16 Q. Okay.

17 A. And the way that I'm using it
18 here and I use it in another paper that's about
19 to come out, I use it as a form of narrative
20 discourse that gives workers a sense of
21 autonomy over their work.

22 And so it -- it serves a
23 purpose, that sort of phrase, but that's -- I
24 mean, that's -- but that's different from
25 whether or not I believe whether or not they

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Page 175

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 are their own boss.

3 BY MR. WYATT:

4 Q. And so let's answer that
5 question. Do you believe that they're their
6 own boss?

7 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

8 THE WITNESS: I actually don't
9 think I'm qualified to answer that
10 question because that requires me to
11 think about like employment status and
12 things like that.

13 BY MR. WYATT:

14 Q. Okay. Okay. That's all the
15 questions I have on this one.

16 Let's skip that one.

17 Are you offering an opinion
18 about whether Uber has control over drivers
19 under state law?

20 A. No.

21 Q. Okay. I think you said this
22 before, but is -- is organizational control not
23 a binary concept, as you use it?

24 A. Correct. It's not binary.

25 Q. And -- and why is that?

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Page 176

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Like, what is it instead of
3 binary, is it like a spectrum?

4 A. It's a spectrum, but the more
5 the way that we describe it in my literature
6 it's a set of processes, so there's lots of
7 different processes that can direct people's
8 behavior like incentives or gamification.

9 Q. And do all organizations, in
10 your view, exercise some level of control over
11 workers?

12 A. Yes.

13 Q. Okay. Let's go back to your
14 report. Let's go up to -- I have some
15 questions about your methodology, which I --
16 some of your descriptions or what I understand
17 is your descriptions of your methodology happen
18 in the methodology section, but some of them
19 happen earlier, like here in Paragraph 7, so --
20 so just tell me if that's not correct and I'll
21 read to you -- what I specifically have a
22 question about before I actually ask you a
23 question.

24 So that's just a prelude.

25 You say, "My research program is

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Page 177

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON
2 primarily qualitative and draws on the norms
3 and standards of qualitative methodology in the
4 organizational management field, which
5 emphasizes in-depth immersion and observation,
6 to see things from the experiential point of
7 view of actors in the field", correct?

8 A. Correct.

9 Q. And is that -- I see reference
10 methodology there, is that a fair summary of
11 your -- your methods?

12 A. Yes.

13 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

14 BY MR. WYATT:

15 Q. Okay. And in the papers that
16 you've written, are the participant analyses
17 and the semi-structured interviews that you
18 performed, at least part of the data that you
19 would analyze in a qualitative method?

20 A. Not every paper has those two
21 types of data, but that is some of the data
22 I've used.

23 Q. Okay. Is -- is the qualitative
24 method subjective?

25 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

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Page 178

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 THE WITNESS: All quantitative
3 and qualitative are both subjective.

4 BY MR. WYATT:

5 Q. Okay.

6 A. It's a fallacy to think any
7 method is objective, but there is an
8 interpretive stance, which is a social
9 construction of the knowledge in qualitative
10 research.

11 Q. Okay. Help me understand the
12 distinction between interpretive stance and
13 subjectivity, please.

14 A. I don't think I can -- I want --
15 I don't think they mean the same thing, but I
16 think they are overlapping, but I couldn't,
17 right now, off the top of my head, give you a
18 good definition about one versus the other.

19 Q. Okay. Let's take -- suppose you
20 and one other structural ethnographer were
21 riding, in a ride-hailing setting and
22 interviewing the same driver.

23 Could the two of you have
24 different understandings of what the driver is
25 telling you in the -- in the interview?

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Page 179

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

3 Incomplete hypothetical.

4 THE WITNESS: So we talked about
5 this earlier, about how at a general
6 level, people can be at the same research
7 setting and make two different
8 conclusions.9 So when you're asking the
10 question, would we disagree about what
11 the writer is telling us, we would all
12 have the same words on the piece of
13 paper, so I mean, that doesn't change.14 Given all the other data we
15 might have, maybe we just interview that
16 one driver in common and we look at other
17 drivers, we interview other people
18 differently or have different archival
19 data or different access to the company.20 And depending on our research
21 question, we might tell two different
22 research reports, you might come to two
23 different conclusions, but it doesn't
24 mean one is right and one is wrong.

25 BY MR. WYATT:

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Page 180

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Q. So you could have -- as long as
3 you had access to the same dataset, you would
4 be working with the same data and there would
5 be a shared understanding of what that is, but
6 you could have different interpretations of the
7 same data.

8 Is that what you're saying?

9 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

10 THE WITNESS: In a more
11 interpretive transition.

12 So remember I talked about
13 interpretive versus positive? A
14 positivist, you would come up with the
15 same conclusions, but with an
16 interpretive standpoint, you could come
17 to different arguments that you would
18 develop from the data -- from a similar
19 dataset.

20 BY MR. WYATT:

21 Q. Okay.

22 A. And I can think of one of --
23 like, the Mann Gulch fire, I don't know if you
24 ever heard of it, it was a big wild fire, I
25 think, happened out west.

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Page 181

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 I mean, there have been six or
3 seven different papers that have looked at the
4 public records, I think, and interviews from
5 that fire and it made different arguments about
6 how people respond to organizational threats
7 into organizing -- high-threat environments.

8 So, yes, from the same set of
9 data you can draw -- make different
10 conclusions.

11 Q. So -- and I think you said this
12 earlier, but is a purpose of qualitative
13 research to create theory?

14 A. Correct.

15 Q. Is novelty important in the
16 field of qualitative research?

17 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

18 THE WITNESS: By looking at a
19 phenomenon that's new, it helps you push
20 to create new theory.

21 So it's not novelty for novelty
22 sake. It's more about, how do you -- you
23 can challenge existing sets of knowledge
24 by looking at a phenomenon that is
25 rapidly -- that's emerging.

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Page 182

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 BY MR. WYATT:

3 Q. Okay.

4 And can qualitative research be
5 tested or is that a quantitative term?

6 MS. POLLOCK: Form.

7 THE WITNESS: We talked about
8 this earlier and I described that it's
9 not how one understands qualitative
10 research.

11 BY MR. WYATT:

12 Q. Yeah. Let me see if I can skip
13 though some of these. Hold on a second.

14 Is another way to think about
15 qualitative research and theory creation, that
16 it's hypothesis generating?

17 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

18 THE WITNESS: That's an
19 interesting question. There is some
20 qualitative research that's hypothesis
21 generating. It's not the type of
22 qualitative research I do, though.

23 BY MR. WYATT:

24 Q. Do you think grounded theory is
25 a method of hypothesis generation?

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Page 183

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 A. The type of -- I said I'm not
3 familiar with the type of research that
4 generates hypothesis. I'm not sure if they use
5 a grounded theory technique or not.

6 Q. Okay. Sorry.

7 Just give me a second.

8 You use grounded theory as your
9 methodology, is that correct?

10 A. Correct.

11 Q. And Glaser & Strauss, from 1967,
12 you cite.

13 Who are Glaser & Strauss?

14 A. I believe they were
15 anthropologists.

16 Q. Are they sort of the inventor of
17 qualitative theory or just leaders in the
18 field?

19 A. They're two leaders of ground
20 theory. Not of qualitative research.

21 Q. Grounded theory.

22 Is grounded theory like a
23 specific branch of qualitative research?

24 A. Exactly. There are many
25 branches within qualitative research.

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Page 184

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Q. And what are some of the others?

3 A. There's one called

4 Phenomenology, which looks at more narrative
5 experiences. There's another one that's also,
6 like, a narrative centered -- critical
7 theorists that have a different way.

8 I mean, you could also look at
9 qualitative data can be, like, content
10 analysis, or coming up with -- of data to run
11 then through a request. So there's a lot of
12 variability in qualitative methods.

13 Q. Okay. I want to see if I
14 understand this, so I'm going to introduce the
15 next exhibit, 13, which I will show you in just
16 a second.

17 - - -

18 (Whereupon the document was
19 marked, for identification purposes, as
20 Exhibit Number 13.)

21 - - -

22 BY MR. WYATT:

23 Q. This is an article called "What
24 is Qualitative Research? An Overview and
25 Guidelines."

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Page 185

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Do you see that?

3 A. Yes.

4 Q. Do you know who Weng Marc Lim
5 is?

6 A. No. And I've never even heard
7 of this journal.

8 Q. Okay. Well, I'm just going to
9 -- it's not cited by you and I'm just going to
10 ask you if you agree with something that says
11 he says and explain what grounded theory is, so
12 let me get to that page.

13 A. What field is he in?

14 Q. Let's see.

15 So if we go to this page here,
16 he says, "Grounded theory, as proposed by its
17 founders, Glaser & Strauss", who we were just
18 discussing, right?

19 "Hinges on the notion that the
20 validity of a theory is contingent upon the
21 process of its derivation. This represents a
22 departure from the deductive methods that start
23 with theories to form hypothesis or
24 propositions which are then empirically tested
25 and verified", correct?

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Page 186

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

3 THE WITNESS: I -- I -- I read
4 those two same two sentences.

5 BY MR. WYATT:

6 Q. Is that accurate, this
7 represents the departure from deductive methods
8 that empirically test and verified hypothesis?

9 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

10 Lack of foundation.

11 THE WITNESS: So I agree that
12 qualitative research does not start with
13 hypotheses and that's different from
14 deductive.

15 I mean, I'm -- I'm -- I'm
16 listening to see what the follow-on
17 question is going to be.

18 BY MR. WYATT:

19 Q. Okay. So let me ask my next
20 question, I wasn't sure if you were done
21 answering.

22 If we go to Page 207, it says
23 down here, "Grounded theory serves as a
24 foundational strategy for elucidating processes
25 and contributing to the theoretical lexicon,

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Page 187

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON
2 focusing on theory construction, e.g.,
3 hypothesis generation, rather than theory
4 verification, e.g., hypothesis testing."

5 Is that correct, as far as you
6 understand grounded theory?

7 MS. POLLOCK: Let me just remind
8 the Witness. You have the ability to
9 read this whole article, rather than
10 just --

11 THE WITNESS: Right.

12 MS. POLLOCK: -- to the extent
13 you see fit.

14 MR. WYATT: I'll object to the
15 coaching, but you can go ahead and
16 answer.

17 MS. POLLOCK: I object to your
18 objection that's coaching. I'm reminding
19 the Witness she's allowed to look at an
20 entire document, as she sees fit.

21 THE WITNESS: So I want to
22 say -- is -- I would need more time,
23 because I'm -- I'm not entirely sure if
24 you're taking things out of context in
25 this article, because this person doesn't

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 188

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 look like they're in my field, because
3 the journal is called a marketing journal
4 and I'm not in marketing.

5 In general -- and I mean,
6 there's a split -- he put Glaser &
7 Strauss 1967, but there was a split
8 between Glaser & Strauss in the early
9 '90s.

10 You also see in my cite of that
11 paper, I'm citing Charmaz, 2001, and
12 Golden-Biddle and Locke of 2006, which
13 are much closer to management theory, the
14 way I understand it, which is not the
15 pure definition that's used in Glaser &
16 Strauss, both because Glaser & Strauss
17 split in the '90s, but two, it's not the
18 way it's done in organizational
19 literature in the exact same way.

20 So there's a way of which I feel
21 like there's some sort of peacemaking
22 that's made out of turn that's making me
23 feel uncomfortable, so I would like time
24 to look at the article.

25 But at a general level, I would

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Page 189

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 say grounded theory does help you focus
3 on creating new theory.

4 BY MR. WYATT:

5 Q. Okay. And totally fair, you
6 haven't read the article, but just as an
7 abstract principle, as you understand grounded
8 theory, from your own understanding, do you
9 agree that it focusses on theory construction
10 more than theory verification?

11 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

12 THE WITNESS: So I've said
13 earlier before that qualitative methods
14 is about constructing new theory, not on
15 verifying theory, that is more what
16 quantitative research does.

17 BY MR. WYATT:

18 Q. Okay.

19 A. And hypothesis generation is not
20 the only way to construct theory.

21 Q. What are some other ways to
22 construct theory?

23 A. I mean, it's -- if you read my
24 research, they all have different examples.

25 Often it can be a way of

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Page 190

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 creating -- creating a model, depicting a new
3 mechanism, showing a process.

4 There are -- yes.

5 And I would say actually,
6 thinking of hypothesis generation is what
7 qualitative research of grounded theories is
8 supposed to do, is actually a much older view
9 in my field and you don't see it as commonly
10 done, I would say, like, after 1995 or
11 something like that.

12 It's not a frequent way that we
13 construct theory. Some people still do it, but
14 it's not a majority way. So that's, I feel a
15 lot is taken out of context, looking at this
16 random article in a journal that doesn't even
17 look highly ranked, Australian Asian Marketing
18 Research? Like, how do I even know this is a
19 reputable source of data?

20 Q. Do you agree that a limitation
21 of qualitative research is that it's
22 susceptible to researcher bias?

23 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

24 THE WITNESS: I wouldn't use the
25 word limitation. In fact, if you look at

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Page 191

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 the limitation section of most management
3 papers, they don't -- nobody says this.4 What -- any research is subject
5 to bias. So what is important is how you
6 have triangulation, how do you account
7 for any biases you might have in a way to
8 create a stronger research process.9 So what you're describing,
10 really, isn't something that we
11 consider -- it's -- it's -- it's a way in
12 the qualitative research process, a way
13 to account for, because quantitative
14 research has bias in it as well.

15 BY MR. WYATT:

16 Q. And how do you account for
17 qualitative bias and qualitative research? I
18 think I know how to do it in quantitative
19 research, but I'm also familiar with
20 qualitative research.21 How do you control for bias in
22 qualitative research?23 A. I think that would be an
24 interesting question to -- to ask you how you
25 think you account for quantitative research

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Page 192

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 because most quantitative research doesn't
3 think there's bias in it.

4 But often, what you'll see is
5 individuals will write some sort of an appendix
6 where they're reflexus in their work. They've
7 describe in their research methods section how
8 there was a surprise, so how they thought of
9 something as being X and then their mind
10 changed to Y.

11 And you'll see that very
12 commonly as a -- as something I describe in my
13 methods section. And the fact that you can
14 sort of have validity in your change -- and
15 change the way you're thinking is a way to sort
16 of -- to show -- not so much as to say that,
17 like, you've controlled for the bias, that's a
18 quantitative word, but that you've recognized
19 it.

20 Also you collect data from
21 multiple sources. So most of my studies have
22 multiple sources of data, like a ride-hailing
23 driver in multiple cities or interviewing
24 people in multiple cities, or -- from multiple
25 sources, so that's another way to sort of

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 193

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 account for biases.

3 Q. Is it important for qualitative
4 research of algorithmic management to collect
5 data on the platform or organizational level?

6 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

7 THE WITNESS: I think the real
8 question is, important for what?

9 It depends on what type of
10 argument you're trying to make.

11 BY MR. WYATT:

12 Q. When would it be important?

13 A. If I wanted to say something at
14 the firm level about -- and I'm kind of just
15 postulating right now because I don't ask these
16 types of research questions, but Möhlmann, et
17 all, 2022, M-ö with the two dots over it,
18 h-l-m-a-n-n, she has 2022 MISQ, where you've
19 interviewed, I think, platform -- like, actual
20 designers of the Uber technology.

21 And I think her research
22 question there was appropriate for that, but I
23 think she was looking at something more around
24 algorithmic design and so she needed to look at
25 designers of platforms for a research question.

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Page 194

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Q. I'm just going to go back to --
3 let's see -- Exhibit 10. This is the
4 algorithmic management article, the one you
5 thought might not be the final version.

6 Do you remember that one that we
7 were talking about?

8 A. Yes. And that author, Möhlmann,
9 is actually one of the authors on that paper.

10 Q. Oh, right here?

11 A. Yep.

12 Q. Got it. Okay.

13 And so if we go to Page 10,
14 there's this table, "insights from the group
15 discussion on algorithmic management", right?

16 A. Yes.

17 Q. And here it says, in order to
18 fully grasp algorithmic management, it is
19 crucial to collect data on the platform or
20 organizational level, right?

21 A. Yes.

22 Q. And do you -- it sounds like you
23 agree with that in some circumstances, but not
24 others.

25 Is that correct?

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Page 195

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

3 THE WITNESS: I would say that
4 architectural management is a really
5 large topic of study.6 There's some areas of
7 algorithmic management that you don't
8 need -- organizational level, to answer
9 your question.10 And there's some types of
11 research questions about how there's
12 algorithmic management that you would
13 want that.14 And I think Möhlmann's 2022
15 study is a good example of that. She
16 looks at algorithmic management from a
17 different angle and she gets data from
18 those who work inside Uber the company.

19 BY MR. WYATT:

20 Q. And let me ask you about this
21 last paragraph here, I'm going to read it and
22 then I'm going to ask you if you agree.23 "Participant research, e.g.
24 researcher being an Uber driver themselves, is
25 valuable and helps widen perspectives and see a

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 196

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 situation of workers on the ground.

3 A difficult aspect of this,
4 however, is that the situation and design of
5 platforms in each market can change quickly,
6 and by the time a paper is published, the lived
7 experiences by the researcher might not reflect
8 the situation anymore."

9 Do you see that?

10 A. Yes.

11 Q. And do you agree with that?

12 A. Yes.

13 Q. Has that affected any of your
14 own research, looking back on it?

15 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

16 THE WITNESS: What do you mean,
17 has it affected any of my research?

18 Can you say -- can you be a bit
19 more specific about what you're asking?

20 BY MR. WYATT:

21 Q. Sure.

22 So after you published an
23 article, have you ever gone back and looked at
24 it and thought, this doesn't really apply
25 anymore because the situation has changed?

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Page 197

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 A. I think little pieces have
3 changed. I -- I'm not sure if Trip Radar was
4 around when I collected the majority of my
5 data, but my -- I do -- my overall theory, my
6 overall argument, does stand, even though
7 there's a little technical change in the app.

8 But there are pieces that may
9 be -- yeah -- one thing that changed, I think,
10 is Uber used to -- I felt -- people felt like
11 Uber used to match them based on geographic
12 proximity, and now there's a lot of more pieces
13 that I think go into the algorithm of that, I
14 think I also talk about that in my 2024 ASQ,
15 but those small empirical details changed.

16 Do I feel like my big argument
17 about algorithmic control, does that theory
18 still stand? Yes. And participant observation
19 is only a small part of all the data I
20 collected that goes into my research.

21 Q. And what else goes into the
22 algorithm, beyond geographic proximity?

23 A. What I believe also goes in and
24 that also comes from my research and also from
25 reading data from this report, might be the

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Page 198

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 rating of the driver, whether maybe the rating
3 of the customer, whether or not they've chosen,
4 like, get rides to destination.

5 There's probably something I'm
6 not sure, like, if they're on a quest or if
7 they're in some sort of incentive program.

8 Like, for example, it used to be
9 with the loyalty programs, you would get
10 priority matching if you were, like, at the
11 highest level, if you were, like, if you were
12 diamond or platinum.

13 I also think about whether or
14 not someone has any safety violations in
15 their -- you know, in their history that might
16 affect who they might get matched with.

17 So there are a lot of different
18 pieces, I think, that go into how the algorithm
19 gets matches, it's not just geographic
20 proximity.

21 Q. And that's based on reading the
22 literature and reading the documents in this
23 case.

24 Is that correct?

25 A. Yep. Exactly.

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Page 199

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Q. Okay.

3 Let me put your report back up.

4 In Paragraph 8, you write, "as a
5 structural ethnographer, my approach to
6 research is worker-centered, seriously
7 considering workers' experience in my analysis
8 to develop broader claims about social
9 structures and processes."

10 Do you see that?

11 A. Correct.

12 Q. And we've talked a little bit
13 about that today. And I think we may have
14 talked about this as well, but just to be sure,
15 do you need a representative sample for
16 qualitative work like this?

17 A. No. You wouldn't want a
18 representative sample, you need to do
19 theoretical sampling.

20 Q. That's right.

21 And you said theoretical
22 sampling is not looking for -- because
23 representative looks at the median, the middle,
24 and not the whole picture.

25 Is that right?

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Page 200

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 A. Exactly.

3 It's mean versus variance.

4 Q. Okay. And so, statistical
5 significance, is that a concept that applies in
6 this situation or is that a --

7 A. Not at all. Not at all.

8 Q. Okay. And why not?

9 A. Statistical significance is
10 about you comparing two groups and whether or
11 not they're above or below some threshold.

12 And I mean there's a whole
13 conversation about how statistics had decided
14 P less than .05 is the right number and how
15 that's grounded in, like -- like phrenology,
16 you know, the thing where they study people's
17 heads and determine if there are differences by
18 race.

19 What I'm trying to say is, P
20 less than .05 is an arbitrary made-up number
21 when we compare groups, how we think there's
22 differences that has racial implications or
23 racial history behind it.

24 That's not at all what we do in
25 qualitative research.

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Page 201

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Qualitative research is about
3 going deep within, like, a phenomenon and
4 finding variance, maybe, between processes or
5 actions or events within that one process.

6 Q. And you have referred earlier
7 today to this idea of triangulation, right?

8 A. Correct.

9 Q. And does triangulation also have
10 some sort of minimum number of samples you need
11 before you can really draw conclusions or not?

12 A. No. It really depends on what
13 your sample is.

14 Like, if I was studying the
15 Supreme Court and I had an NN9, that would be
16 great, you know, it doesn't -- your N could be
17 nine, your N could be 500, it depends on what
18 you're trying to get at.

19 N means sample size.

20 Q. Yeah. I got you there.

21 So what ingredients in
22 triangulation make you comfortable that the
23 conclusions you reach about drivers on the Uber
24 platform is generalizable?

25 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

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Page 202

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 THE WITNESS: Can you say that
3 one more time?

4 BY MR. WYATT:

5 Q. Well, let me take a step back.
6 I'm linking triangulation and generalizability.

7 A. Are those two things related?

8 Q. Not quite, that's why I was
9 confused.

10 Q. Okay. Help me understand the
11 relationship between triangulation and
12 generalizability, do you need triangulation to
13 have generalizability?

14 A. It's one of the things that
15 helps. Generalizability is almost -- it's like
16 the outcome when you've done rigorous research,
17 and so triangulation is one of the components
18 that help make the research rigorous.

19 Q. Okay. Do you think for your
20 work, it would have been sufficient to -- to
21 make general conclusions, based on an interview
22 of just one driver on the Uber platform?

23 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

24 THE WITNESS: Not for the type
25 of research that I want to do -- not for

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Page 203

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 the type of research questions I'm
3 interested in, but there are people who
4 have just interviewed one person and,
5 like, followed them around for three
6 years.

7 Here, again, I think you know
8 Whitman 2013, she looks at ethological
9 sensemaking and she lives with an Inuit
10 for three years and writes about
11 environment and change and management.

12 So the end just differs, based
13 on your research, but on my research
14 question, no, just an N of one would have
15 been insufficient.

16 BY MR. WYATT:

17 Q. And how did you decide when N
18 was enough for the purposes of your research?

19 A. Theoretical saturation, which we
20 talked about before.

21 Q. And remind me what theoretical
22 saturation is?

23 A. Theoretical saturation is when
24 you are -- there's an iterative process of
25 which I cite this in Cameron 2022, why I

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Page 204

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 collected data in like a tranche for a few
3 weeks.

4 And I would analyze the data and
5 I would go and collect more data, and then I
6 would analyze it again, so this went back and
7 forth for 18 months.

8 And toward the end of the
9 18 months, I was getting repetition across --
10 when I brought and collect data, it would just
11 confirm what I already had known and that's a
12 sign that you've reached theocratical
13 saturation and you can stop collecting data.

14 Q. Okay. All right.

15 Give me a second.

16 In Paragraph 10 you talked about
17 your own time driving on the Uber platform.

18 Do you see that?

19 A. Yes.

20 Q. Were you interviewing people
21 while work -- while working as a driver on the
22 platform?

23 A. No.

24 Wait, do you mean interviewing
25 people in my car or interviewing drivers in

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 205

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 general?

3 Q. Interviewing people in your car?

4 A. No.

5 Q. So how did you -- what was the
6 output from the driving -- your driving
7 experience that informed your research?

8 A. It's more -- it's like -- it's
9 like a log of my rides and what happened on
10 each of the rides.

11 Q. Okay. So the -- the interviews,
12 the semistructured interviews and the
13 conversations, those were when you were not
14 driving yourself.

15 Is that correct?

16 A. Exactly.

17 Q. Okay. And what was the process
18 for one of these semistructured interviews, the
19 drivers?

20 A. I would have a -- an interview
21 protocol and we would go through the interview
22 protocol.

23 Q. And what would the interview
24 protocol consist of?

25 A. Cameron 2022 has -- toward the

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Page 206

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 bottom, it describes what the three different
3 buckets are.

4 They -- I can't remember off the
5 top of my head, but they each -- there are
6 three different themes that I ask questions
7 around.

8 Q. Okay. And that was kind of
9 prepared in advance of the project and then
10 would be executed kind of in each driving
11 situation.

12 Is that how it worked?

13 A. In each interview, correct, but
14 one of the things about theoretical samplings
15 that you're changing your interview as you're
16 collecting the data, because you're reading the
17 literature and getting sharper and sharper
18 about what your research question is.

19 So you don't ask the same
20 question in Interview 1 that you ask at
21 Interview 150.

22 Q. And do you document your changed
23 approach in some ways? Like, do you revise a
24 script or an outline or something --

25 A. Yes. I do analyze my outline

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Page 207

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON
2 after -- I think it was usually after every
3 five or seven interviews, I would revise it
4 some, but there are also semistructured
5 interviews, you also kind of go with the flow
6 of how -- what is important to the driver,
7 what's top of mind to them.

8 Q. And do you still have those
9 outlines and protocols?

10 A. So the best -- the best thing
11 that gets at this would be at the bottom of
12 Cameron 2022 where I, like, outline what I
13 cover in each chunk of the interview.

14 Q. Okay.

15 A. Because that stayed the same.

16 Q. Okay. And we talked before
17 about Mr. Okapaku's, you know, reliance on
18 anecdotal information and you've talked about
19 conversational interviews you've conducted in
20 addition to the semistructured interviews.

21 How are conversational
22 interviews different from the kinds of
23 anecdotal information Mr. Okapaku describes?

24 A. The difference -- the
25 conversational interviews are actually more

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 208

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 common in pure ethnography. Like Vetchky
3 (phonetic), 2003, relies on them quite a bit.

4 Conversational interviews have a
5 purpose behind them. There's -- they're not
6 the same as an interview protocol, but there is
7 specific information or things that I'm asking
8 them about in the conversational interview.

9 But the majority of data that my
10 research is actually informed by are these
11 semistructured interviews, not the
12 conversational ones.

13 And there's also something about
14 the sheer amount of the number of
15 conversational interviews that make them
16 different from anecdotal and the fact that they
17 are housed within this larger research body,
18 which include driving, semistructured
19 interviews, archival, field surveys, financial
20 data, all these things make it not anecdotal.

21 Q. And I think you mentioned
22 earlier you've done interviews both in
23 North America and outside.

24 Is that correct?

25 A. Correct.

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Page 209

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Q. Do you know if you've
3 interviewed any drivers in Arizona?

4 A. No. I don't know.

5 Q. Do you know if you've
6 interviewed any drivers in North Carolina?

7 A. No. I don't know.

8 I think the answer is no to
9 both, but I don't know.

10 Q. And what about California?

11 A. Yes. I've interviewed drivers
12 in California.

13 Q. You've worked with a research
14 assistant for some of this research that you
15 have done in the past.

16 Is that correct?

17 A. Correct.

18 Q. And the research assistant who
19 also was trained by you and collected research
20 data in a similar fashion.

21 Is that right?

22 A. They -- they drove, so they had
23 driving logs they shared with me.

24 Q. Okay.

25 So not -- not interviews, just

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Page 210

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 driving?

3 A. In the North America data, I
4 conducted all the interviews.

5 Q. Okay. In Paragraph 10 here you
6 mention, "Outside of North America, my
7 ride-hailing datasets include interviews with
8 drivers, field notes from observations, forum
9 data and participants' artifacts."

10 Do you see that?

11 A. Correct.

12 Q. And what is artifacts as you're
13 using in that context?

14 A. Like, pictures. Like screen
15 shots of them as they're driving, photos of
16 their cars, like, a lot of the rides are paid
17 in cash, so they have different places they hid
18 the cash in around the car. Some of them do
19 strikes so they show pictures to me of like how
20 do we strike. So artifacts basically mean,
21 like, visual images.

22 Q. And we talked a little bit about
23 the kind of the timeline of your research in
24 this field and how in some ways it hasn't
25 ended.

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Page 211

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 But when was the last
3 semistructured interviews of someone that
4 you've done?

5 A. This summer, August.

6 Q. Okay.

7 And that was outside the U.S.

8 Is that right?

9 A. Yes. I'm trying to make sure
10 that's accurate. Yeah. I think it's August,
11 because I was teaching in September.

12 Q. And is that the focus of your
13 current research, just out of the U.S. or not
14 necessarily?

15 A. I'm -- I'm thinking for a
16 minute. I've been writing a few conceptual
17 review pieces now, and in my empirical data
18 is -- yeah -- outside of North America right
19 now. And I have a paper on DoorDash that's
20 about to come out.

21 Q. Okay. So you -- you continue to
22 do research elsewhere in the gig economy, not
23 just with respect to ride-hailing?

24 A. Right.

25 If you look at that very last

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Page 212

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON
2 sentence, it mentions some of the other
3 companies I've studied, InstaCart, Task Rabbit,
4 Upwork.

5 Q. Okay. If we scoot forward to
6 the methodology section, there's three
7 paragraphs in the methodology section and I
8 think -- go through these and we can take
9 another break, if that makes sense?

10 So it's 26, 27 and 28, right?

11 A. Yes.

12 Q. Okay. So in 26, you kind of
13 describe your academic background and current
14 focus, right?

15 A. Correct.

16 Q. Okay. 27 explains your research
17 program. And I'm trying to condense this,
18 because we've talked about some of this stuff
19 before, but is that basically correct?

20 A. Yes. That's what Paragraph 27
21 talks about.

22 Q. Okay. And -- and you talk about
23 the -- the things we've been talking about,
24 semistructured interviews, conversational
25 interviews, right?

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Page 213

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 A. Correct.

3 Q. And are those methods that
4 you've used for this case?

5 A. Are you asking if I conducted
6 interviews for this case?

7 Q. Not exactly, because I think the
8 answer to that is no, because I think you
9 answered that previously.

10 Is that right?

11 A. Correct. I didn't do any
12 interviews.

13 Q. But we are in the methodology
14 section of your report here and so I'm just
15 trying to understand how these methods
16 described here relate to your opinions in this
17 case.

18 A. So I see this Paragraph 27 is
19 more as a setup for the follow-on paragraph,
20 which is to say, I -- I collect a lot of
21 textual data and I analyze that data, draw
22 conclusions and write papers.

23 And I use that similar grounded
24 theory approach that I've done to analyze all
25 this data in the U.S. and in the UK and like

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Page 214

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Brazil and all these places, I used a similar
3 sort of research methodology in going through
4 the data that I received from this case.

5 Q. Okay. So you're not doing
6 literally the same thing of interviewing
7 people, but you're using a grounded theory
8 approach to reviewing, I guess, the literature
9 and documents that you cite in this case?

10 Is that the right way to think
11 about it?

12 A. Exactly.

13 Q. Okay. And you mentioned here in
14 28, you say, this iterative process includes
15 reading materials carefully, iterative open and
16 focused coding, creating analytical categories,
17 writing memos, engaging in academic
18 conversations and drafting reports, correct?

19 A. Correct.

20 Q. Okay. So did -- what, if any,
21 iterative open and focused coding did you do
22 here?

23 A. So I mentioned -- so I get all
24 the paper in hard copy.

25 So I have huge boxes of paper in

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Page 215

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON
2 my office and so I sort of skim through to
3 think about what's most important. I think
4 the -- the data that comes directly from Uber
5 is most important.

6 So then I start reading it and
7 thinking, okay, this is about, I don't know,
8 our rating system, this is about matching, and
9 I start creating all these little piles on my
10 floor. This is the first round of coding of
11 the data.

12 And then once I have a pile on,
13 say, algorithmic matching, I'll go through and
14 I'll start putting it in smaller and smaller
15 piles and writing on pieces of paper, okay,
16 this fits to this, it fits to that, and that's
17 called focus coding, as I'm getting more
18 precise in my analysis and, like, moving things
19 between piles and seeing connections.

20 Q. Okay. Coding, in my head,
21 triggers spreadsheets. So I want to ask, but I
22 get what you're saying.

23 A. Oh, okay.

24 Q. So creating analytical
25 categories, that sounds somewhat similar to

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Page 216

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 what you described, but is it something
3 different?

4 A. Yes.

5 Basically the -- the coding is
6 the fine grain of the data and then the -- the
7 category is, like, a level up or a level to, in
8 terms of abstraction. So if they're -- they're
9 happening at the same time.

10 Q. Okay. And writing memos, did
11 you write memos as part of this exercise?

12 A. I did but you can also think of
13 them as sections of the report, like,
14 everything went into the report.

15 Q. Okay. And you refer to engaged
16 in academic conversations.

17 Can you tell me more about that?

18 A. Yeah. There are a few theories
19 in here that were new that I was thinking
20 about.

21 One was on -- certification,
22 platform decay, another one was cultural
23 narratives, and so -- you know, if I have a
24 coauthor and I'm like, hey, you know a lot
25 about -- (inaudible) -- tell me about it?

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 217

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 And so, you know, I would talk
3 to them about the literature. They would talk
4 to me about their ideas.

5 So I never would discuss
6 anything about the case, but there's a way of
7 which there's, like, a -- like, new ideas would
8 get clarified by talking about it to them.

9 Q. Okay.

10 MR. WYATT: Okay. I think those
11 are my questions for methodology.

12 Is now a good time to take a
13 break?

14 MS. POLLOCK: I think so.

15 THE WITNESS: Yeah.

16 Sounds good.

17 MR. WYATT: Okay. You want to
18 just do ten minutes again?

19 THE WITNESS: Great.

20 THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Going off the
21 video record. The time is 6:05 p.m.

22 - - -

23 (Whereupon, a recess took place
24 from 6:05 p.m. to 6:20 p.m.).

25 - - -

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Page 218

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 THE VIDEOGRAPHER: We are back
3 on the video record. The time is
4 6:20 p.m. This begins
5 Media Unit Number 4.

6 BY MR. WYATT:

7 Q. Welcome back, Dr. Cameron.

8 A. Thank you.

9 Q. So let me put your report back
10 up. And we just finished the methodology
11 section and now we're in Section V, which is,
12 "Overview of on-Demand Labor Organizations and
13 Their Life Cycle."

14 Do you see that?

15 A. Yes.

16 Q. And in Paragraph 29, you say "At
17 the most basic level, on-demand labor companies
18 are an intermediary that connect workers and
19 other parties, e.g., customers, clients,
20 merchants, to facilitate an economic exchange."

21 Do you see that first sentence?

22 A. Correct.

23 Q. And does that apply to Uber, in
24 your view?

25 A. Uber is an on-demand labor

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Page 219

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON
2 company. I would not feel comfortable just
3 saying Uber is an intermediary, full stop. To
4 me, that's too simple. Though, I do know
5 there's some scholars in economics and
6 strategies that see differently than me.

7 But I would agree that Uber
8 connects workers and other parties to
9 facilitate an economic exchange.

10 Q. Okay. And what -- what more
11 than an intermediary do you view Uber as?

12 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

13 BY MR. WYATT:

14 Q. Or what else?

15 A. So my research doesn't
16 particular tend to look at Uber as a noun. It
17 looks at the processes that are underlining
18 Uber, so all the control that we've been
19 talking about.

20 And I'm just being thoughtful
21 here, because I know there are schools of
22 thought that don't -- when you just say
23 intermediary, they don't actually look at what
24 the intermediary does or how it has control or
25 ways that Uber claims -- or Uber, I don't think

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Page 220

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 any gig economy company says they create
3 marketplaces when actually I don't see them
4 creating a marketplace.

5 It's just -- it's a contested
6 term that's used differently across
7 disciplines, so I'm just trying to give you
8 more context on how I see it.

9 Q. And just to flush out from my
10 own understanding, so you're suggesting that
11 intermediary can sort of downplay something
12 about the company in question and its role?

13 A. I think it's -- to understand
14 them just as a digital intermediary, limits it.
15 I wouldn't say downplay, but limits.

16 Q. Limits. Okay.

17 And do you view Uber as a
18 transportation company?

19 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

20 THE WITNESS: I view it as an
21 on-demand company, to be honest.

22 BY MR. WYATT:

23 Q. Okay. Uber operates a digital
24 smart phone application, the Uber app, correct?

25 A. Yeah.

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Page 221

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

3 THE WITNESS: I would agree that
4 Uber operates an app. Yeah. It operates
5 the app. It designs the app. It -- the
6 app is an interface for control.7 It's more than just -- it's more
8 than just operating. It doesn't just
9 like buy it off the shelf and then
10 operate it, like a -- a robo call or a
11 little remote car, the relationship.

12 BY MR. WYATT:

13 Q. And would you agree that the app
14 facilitates the provision of services by
15 drivers to riders?

16 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

17 THE WITNESS: I don't love the
18 word facilitate to service, because
19 that's something that's used more in the
20 e-con strategy literature, so I wouldn't
21 use those terms. I would say it matches
22 workers with customers.

23 BY MR. WYATT:

24 Q. Okay.

25 Are you familiar with the

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Page 222

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 platform Access Agreement that drivers need to
3 sign to get access to the Uber platform as a
4 driver?

5 A. I believe I've reviewed this as
6 one of the documents for this report.

7 Q. When you onboarded as a driver,
8 if you recall, is that something that you
9 reviewed?

10 A. I can't remember, but I'm sure I
11 did.

12 Q. And you agree that drivers who
13 utilize the Uber app are not restricted from
14 driving on other similar platforms, correct?

15 A. I agree.

16 Drivers can multi-home if there
17 are multiple riding-hailing platforms in their
18 city.

19 Q. And they can also work other
20 jobs if it works with their schedule, correct?

21 A. I'd agree. Yes.

22 Q. And was it your experience that
23 drivers are responsible for their own expenses
24 when they drive on the app?

25 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

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Page 223

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 THE WITNESS: Yes.

3 It is my experience drivers are
4 responsible for, like, their mileage and
5 their gas and insurance, things like
6 that.

7 BY MR. WYATT:

8 Q. And do you know, or maybe you
9 experienced this yourself, are drivers
10 responsible for paying taxes on their income
11 from driving on the app?

12 A. Yes. I do see drivers as being
13 responsible for paying for their taxes.

14 Q. Okay. Have you ever seen Uber's
15 algorithm management system?

16 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

17 BY MR. WYATT:

18 Q. Like the code?

19 A. That's an interesting question.
20 I have seen decision trees that
21 led -- like, that tell you how -- Uber how to
22 respond or an Uber rep to respond when there
23 are -- there's some sort of problem.

24 And I do see that as code.

25 I mean, a decision tree is a

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 224

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 type of logic code.

3 Q. Okay. Fair enough.

4 Have you seen the computer code
5 behind it, though?

6 A. No.

7 I have not seen computer code.

8 Q. Do you know if the algorithm
9 determines the pay rates for drivers?

10 A. For rating the -- the documents
11 that were provided from me and everything
12 that's been published, and my own research, I
13 do believe the algorithmic management system
14 sets the pay rate for drivers.

15 Q. And -- and similarly, does it
16 set what the customers are charged, the riders?

17 A. Yes. From what I can tell it
18 also sets what customers are charged.

19 Q. And does the algorithm evaluate
20 required behaviors in any way?

21 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

22 Incomplete hypothetical.

23 THE WITNESS: Yes. It does.

24 BY MR. WYATT:

25 Q. And how does it do that?

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Page 225

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Like, in what ways?

3 A. It monitors telemetrics, so like
4 acceleration, deceleration, speed and braking.
5 It monitors how fast people are accepting rides
6 or on-time arrival, things like that, and then,
7 of course, there's the customer rating systems.

8 The customers are inputting in
9 ratings and those ratings are then averaged or
10 calculated by the algorithmic management system
11 and they influence the opportunities that are
12 presented to drivers, whether or not it's their
13 pay or what rides they get matched to or if
14 there are in the loyalty program.

15 Q. And I think the answer to this
16 for this case is no, but I don't know about
17 your research.

18 Have you ever spoken with an
19 Uber representative about how the algorithm
20 works?

21 A. You can check my 2024 ASQ. I
22 briefly mention it, how Uber employee sort of
23 ended up in some of my job talks and had
24 comments for me about the algorithmic
25 management system, but that wasn't a formal

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Page 226

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 interview. That was somebody coming up to talk
3 to me at a talk.

4 Q. Did you invite them to the talk
5 or they were just there?

6 A. No. They just showed up.

7 And similarly, you know I have
8 students that are former Uber employees who end
9 up bringing up Uber in class or talk to me
10 about it, but I mean, those -- that's not part
11 of my research at all.

12 Q. Okay. And it wasn't something
13 you specifically attempted to obtain for
14 forming your opinions in this case.

15 Is that right?

16 A. No. Not at all.

17 I mean, there's a fair amount of
18 research here. I'm thinking of Christian 2020
19 that talks about how one can study algorithmic
20 management systems without actually getting
21 internal data from the platform company and
22 that's actually a very rigorous scientific way
23 to get data.

24 There's also a fair amount of
25 concern, some which I talk about in the report,

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Page 227

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 about researchers who have partnered with Uber
3 and have their data have been called into
4 question or not having rigorous scientific
5 integrity.

6 So from a theoretical
7 perspective, I didn't need to work with any
8 Uber employees or -- you know, -- to answer my
9 research questions, but there are also these
10 other ethical questions that were also in play.

11 Q. Okay. And I think you mentioned
12 earlier you only skimmed the depositions, but
13 to the extent the depositions you received may
14 have discussed the algorithms, that's not
15 something you're relying on here either.

16 Is that right?

17 A. Not in this case, but I've read
18 many depositions of Uber employees for other
19 cases, so they have informed my general
20 knowledge.

21 Q. Do you by any chance remember
22 any names of folks that you've read in prior
23 cases?

24 A. Let me think.

25 Q. Just -- just your employees. I

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Page 228

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 don't want to know about other cases, but any
3 Uber representatives that you recall testimony
4 of?

5 A. No. But if you're able to pull
6 the public versions of my report, it will
7 probably have -- it will have it referenced in
8 there, I think.

9 Q. Okay. Okay. All right.

10 So let's go to 32. And you
11 refer here to the early stages of a platform --
12 platform organizations lifecycle, right?

13 A. Yes.

14 Q. And you say, "They may shift
15 their activities towards workers and customers
16 to capture more value", right?

17 A. Yes.

18 Q. And this process, in which there
19 is a slow degrade of the functionality of the
20 platform is called platform decay or the or --
21 previously, enshitification, is that right?

22 A. Yeah.

23 That's Cory Doctorow's word.

24 Q. That's kind of an unpleasant
25 word, right?

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 229

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 A. It is. He -- he's -- he's --
3 he's -- he's done a lot of writing about
4 bringing forth that word.5 I think a really great example
6 he has is for social media platforms, how, you
7 know, the feeds become very cluttered and the
8 platform quality degrades.9 Q. And is that -- is his research
10 qualitative as well?

11 A. I'm not sure.

12 I -- I -- it might be more
13 qualitative, but I'm not sure. I think it is.14 Q. And is this -- I mean, this is
15 described as a general concept in your report,
16 but is this something that you believe applies
17 to the Uber platform?

18 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

19 THE WITNESS: I'm still making
20 up my mind about this, to be -- to be
21 completely transparent here.22 There has been a way, though,
23 because I've interviewed drivers over so
24 many years, there does seem to be a
25 decline in what drivers are getting paid.

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Page 230

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 And there does -- people are
3 talking a lot about -- about not being
4 able to get the matches they want, not
5 being able to be in the areas, like, the
6 surge pricing being more unpredictable.

7 So there is -- particularly when
8 you've interviewed drivers -- the same
9 driver over many years, especially
10 drivers who have been driving since 2013,
11 it does seem today's platform is not the
12 same platform of 2015.

13 Now, back -- and giving drivers
14 their own iPhone to drive, you know, and
15 ice cream parties to celebrate that.

16 So there does seem to be some
17 sort of degrade in service, but I haven't
18 studied this rigorously, so -- but I -- I
19 think there's some value in thinking
20 about this theory of platform decay.

21 BY MR. WYATT:

22 Q. So this isn't something you
23 published on, is that fair, as it relates to
24 Uber specifically?

25 A. No. I haven't, but Mike Maffie

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 231

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 has, but I haven't published on platform decay.

3 Q. Okay. And so --

4 A. That is actually not -- I have
5 a -- a -- a forthcoming article, the one I just
6 said was accepted, where I talk about platform
7 decay, but I do -- I have not empirically
8 studied platform decay.

9 Q. Okay. Okay.

10 So Paragraph 35, you write,
11 "Research shows there are two crucial points
12 where drivers may leave ride-hailing,
13 onboarding after the first ride or after
14 significant rides. Ride-hailing companies have
15 high turn rates with 50 to 96% annual
16 turnover."

17 Do you see that?

18 A. Yes.

19 Q. How does that relate to
20 organizational control over drivers, or does
21 it?22 A. Can I see the paragraph right
23 before where we were talking about platform
24 decay?

25 Q. That's a good question.

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 232

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Let's see.

3 A. Yeah.

4 Q. Oops.

5 So is this more about platform
6 decay than organizational control?

7 A. You know, I think when I was
8 writing this paragraph, I was actually thinking
9 about the loyalty programs and how loyalty
10 programs are designed to entice drivers to keep
11 driving around these different inflection
12 points.

13 So I think actually where
14 it's -- that paragraph is, is probably not the
15 best place for it to be in that paragraph.

16 Q. Okay. So you would --

17 A. Or best place -- a best place to
18 be in the report, that's what I meant to say.

19 Q. Right. You would move it down
20 to somewhere later in the report?

21 A. Yeah. I think so.

22 Q. To where you talk about, like,
23 Uber Pro and those types of things?

24 A. Yeah.

25 Q. Okay. And then, if we look

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 233

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 ahead to the next section, that's where we get
3 back into organizational control.

4 And I think we looked at that
5 paragraph earlier because it's where the
6 definition is, right?

7 A. Correct.

8 Q. And does organizational control
9 apply to employees, as well as independent
10 contractors?

11 A. So my answer is, people who are
12 classified as employees or independent
13 contractors, if I just sort of add a more
14 nuance version of what you just said, and given
15 I just wrote a report about drivers who are
16 classified as -- as independent contractors,
17 and I'm talking about organizational control, I
18 would say yes.

19 Q. Okay. And is organizational
20 control related to labor process theory?

21 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

22 THE WITNESS: Wow. I'm
23 thinking, because that's a -- you --
24 you've put together two big concepts.

25 BY MR. WYATT:

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 234

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Q. Let me be less oblique about
3 it --

4 A. Yes.

5 Q. -- and you can answer a question
6 in context --

7 A. Right.

8 Q. -- rather than -- rather than
9 giving you an examine and ask for scores or
10 something. Hold on a second.

11 So going back to this article,
12 which is the algorithmic management article,
13 which is -- let's see -- Exhibit 10.

14 Here it says, "Labor process
15 theory and adjacent Marxist approaches are
16 frequently used as the theoretical basis,
17 stressing aspect of control and power."

18 And so I'm trying to understand
19 if there's a link between labor process theory
20 and this concept of organizational control.

21 A. True. Just because you didn't
22 use the word organizational, you kind of -- you
23 queued me thinking about different literature
24 than this.

25 This is -- this is sometimes --

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 235

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 organizational control and labor process theory
3 are two different theoretical veins, but labor
4 process theory very much talks about control.

5 Q. Okay. Control of labor.

6 Is that right?

7 A. Yeah. I'd say -- let me sit
8 here and just think, because it's a really big
9 theory. It's controlled labor. It's control
10 of the work process. It's the control of
11 managers. It's control of a lot of different
12 things in the work process. Yeah. It includes
13 labor and it includes workers.

14 Q. Is algorithmic control a kind of
15 organizational control?

16 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

17 THE WITNESS: That is a very big
18 question, but drawing on (phonetic),
19 2009, I would say yes.

20 Or more accurately, algorithmic
21 management is a form of organizational
22 control.

23 BY MR. WYATT:

24 Q. Okay.

25 And do you consider yourself one

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 236

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 of the earlier leading scholars on algorithmic
3 control?

4 A. On algorithmic management? One
5 of the leading scholars. Yes.

6 Q. Okay. I'll try to get it right,
7 it's obviously written in my outline a
8 different way, but I'll try to make the
9 adjustment going forward.

10 Algorithmic management.

11 A. Yes.

12 Q. And does Uber, with respect to
13 drivers, exert types of control, other than
14 algorithmic management?

15 A. I would say yes.

16 Q. And what are those other types
17 of control?

18 A. Off the top of my head, I talked
19 about the cultural narratives in this report,
20 so I do see the cultural narratives as a form
21 of social-cultural control.

22 Let me think.

23 We have normative control, I
24 just wrote a paper on that, so that's another
25 form of control that's not algorithmic, but

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 237

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 there are parts of algorithmic management
3 that's embedded within neo-normative control.

4 Those are the two big examples I
5 can think of right now.

6 Q. And generally speaking, are
7 there types of control that apply to workers
8 classified as employees that don't apply to
9 workers applied as independent contractors or
10 vice versa?

11 A. My answer to this is, yes, this
12 is not my area of expertise, so I would read
13 Cappelli and Teller, 2013 or 2023, they both
14 talk about this.

15 Q. Okay. And do you know if Uber
16 provides drivers with any business
17 registrations or licenses?

18 A. To the best of my knowledge,
19 they don't.

20 Q. And Uber doesn't pay drivers a
21 salary or hourly rate, correct?

22 A. I believe in certain cities they
23 do have a minimum hourly rate, such as
24 New York City and Seattle.

25 Q. Okay. But outside situations

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 238

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 like that, in general, there wouldn't be an
3 hourly rate, correct?

4 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

5 THE WITNESS: I'm not entirely
6 sure all of the cities that have a
7 minimum hourly rate, but for the cities
8 where there's not a minimum hourly rate,
9 then I would say, no, Uber does not pay
10 its driver a minimum hourly rate.

11 BY MR. WYATT:

12 Q. And --

13 A. Because I think Minneapolis
14 might also do a minimum hourly rate, if I'm
15 remembering.

16 Q. And does Uber provide drivers
17 with the tools they need to complete their
18 work, like the car, for example?

19 A. Uber does not provide a car, but
20 they -- they provide this app interface.

21 Q. And you didn't consider any
22 legal definitions of control, in forming your
23 opinions in this case, right?

24 A. Not at all.

25 Q. Let's go to paragraph -- let's

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Page 239

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 see -- let's get your report back up. So we go
3 to Paragraph 37, you say, "there's conceptually
4 two dimensions of organizational control,
5 general and detailed", right?

6 A. Correct.

7 Q. And are both of those at issue
8 here, general and detailed?9 A. I believe so, but we'd need to
10 go in the report specifically for -- to see how
11 these two play out.12 Q. Okay. And there's one example
13 that you give here in Paragraph 37 about
14 over -- some detail control, overprescribing
15 elements of detailed control, for example, how
16 long workers on the assemble line can go to the
17 bathroom.18 That specific example is not one
19 that really applies here, correct?20 A. No. Just so you know, the way
21 this part of the report is laid out, there's a
22 section that's theoretical, then there's a
23 section that applies to Uber.24 So this entire section is more
25 the theoretical grounds.

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 240

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Q. Okay. I appreciate that.

3 And my pauses are me skipping
4 questions, so these are good, I'm working
5 through my outline here.

6 A. Pause away.

7 Q. Okay. So there's a method to
8 the awkward silence madness. Okay.9 So in Paragraph 41, you
10 mention -- and this is the theoretical section
11 here, but just so I can understand how it
12 applies, you say, "that there's -- that
13 Highland describes four levels of construction,
14 meaning, construction of algorithms.15 First, an algorithm is designed
16 and planned such that it meets the needs of the
17 organization. Second, the algorithm is
18 programed by programmers who place a particular
19 philosophical frame on the world that renders
20 it amenable to the work of code and algorithms.21 Third, algorithm -- algorithms
22 are curated by data janitors. And finally,
23 those who interact with the algorithms also
24 participate in the construction, such that
25 algorithmic decision only becomes effective

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 241

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 through usage."

3 Do you see that?

4 A. Correct.

5 Q. Do these all apply to Uber or is
6 this not necessary, because this is general?

7 A. Oh, well, I mean, it definitely
8 applies to Uber because Uber has an algorithmic
9 management system that runs underneath it.

10 So it's a general statement that
11 I also believe applies to -- to any gig economy
12 company.

13 Q. Great. So all four of these
14 things apply whenever there's an algorithm
15 involved, is that --

16 A. I would think so.

17 Q. -- okay.

18 A. And, you know, the main idea
19 here is that code or algorithms are not --
20 they're written by humans and there's biases
21 and social norms that are encoded in that, and
22 so that's the argument I'm making in that
23 paragraph.

24 Q. Right.

25 So to take -- to take one of

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 242

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON
2 these and try to make it specific, in the next
3 paragraph, actually, you say, "Algorithmic
4 management systems reflect and embody broader
5 social-cultural values and can never be seen as
6 socially or politically neutral as just a
7 tool."

8 Do you see that?

9 A. Correct.

10 Q. What broader social-cultural
11 values are embodied in the algorithm --
12 algorithms utilized in the Uber app?

13 A. So here I would direct you to
14 the work of Veena Dubal, and I hope I'm not --
15 I'm going to do my best to sort of paraphrase
16 her work as I read it.

17 She argues there's algorithmic
18 race discrimination that's done by the Uber
19 app, that the prices are set a certain way
20 that -- that workers are not paid a minimum
21 wage, and that it often goes to workers who are
22 black or brown or immigrants who are penalized
23 the most.

24 And so she, I think, in her
25 argumentation says, that's part of the larger

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 243

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 system here in the United States where we
3 devalue black and brown and immigrant bodies.

4 So that would be an example of
5 that. I think I talked to you about the edit
6 volume that -- that will be coming out shortly
7 where I talk about how these ghost variables
8 are embedded in algorithmic management systems.

9 There's -- there's other pieces
10 in that edited volume that talk about the same
11 phenomenon happening in Uber.

12 So that would be an example.

13 Q. Okay. And are these things that
14 you've looked at in your research or you're
15 drawing mostly from Dubal and others from this?

16 A. I'm drawing on other people's
17 research. It's something I theoretically
18 engage with, but it's not where the empirical
19 part of my research is.

20 Q. Okay. And then -- let's see.
21 Let's go to Paragraph 43, and we're talking
22 about the four components of the algorithmic
23 management that lead to an intensification of
24 organizational control, right?

25 A. Yes.

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 244

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Q. And if we read further down in
3 this Paragraph 43, it says, "Some scholars have
4 are gone so far to call the control exercise by
5 on-demand organizations as an invisible cage,
6 because they implement a form of organizational
7 control in which the criteria for success are
8 largely invisible to workers and changes to
9 those criteria are unpredictable made solely by
10 the organization itself", correct?

11 A. Correct.

12 Q. Are you one of those scholars
13 that goes so far as to call control as an
14 invisible cage?

15 MS. POLLOCK: Objection to form.

16 THE WITNESS: That is an
17 interesting question. I do not know the
18 answer to, because Rothman and I have
19 written several articles together.

20 So is it possible there has been
21 an article in which I view this invisible
22 cage that we are coauthors on, because
23 it's joint work.

24 BY MR. WYATT:

25 Q. Well, I think this may be one of

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 245

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 those articles, but I am asking you for your
3 opinion, do you think that's a fair
4 description, an invisible cage?

5 A. Of Uber specifically?

6 Q. Yeah.

7 A. I'm not entirely sure, to be
8 honest.

9 Q. Okay. Okay.

10 And then in Paragraph 44, you
11 write, "Several features contribute to the
12 intensification of control by algorithmic
13 management systems", right?

14 A. Yes.

15 Q. And you list a couple.

16 You say, embedded in cameras,
17 biometrics trackers and sensors, algorithms
18 record workers physical movements to prove
19 adherence to the rules and the regulations of
20 the organization, such as, by verifying worker
21 identities."

22 And we talked a little bit about
23 that before, right? Identity verification?

24 A. Correct.

25 Q. And then, tracking drivers'

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 246

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 location, right?

3 A. Correct.

4 Q. Acceleration rate and braking
5 speeds for workers operating motor vehicles,
6 right?

7 A. Correct.

8 Q. And monitoring emails to assess
9 mood and productivity?

10 A. Correct.

11 Q. And, you know, going back to the
12 question of whether these things are good or
13 bad, like, do you have an opinion as to whether
14 it's a good or a bad thing to track drivers'
15 location?

16 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

17 THE WITNESS: No. I don't
18 really have an opinion there.

19 BY MR. WYATT:

20 Q. And so, you -- you -- is the
21 purpose of mentioning it here is that this is
22 -- good or bad, it's some form of control that
23 an on-demand platform can exercise that --

24 A. Exactly. Exactly.

25 That's what's important.

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 247

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Q. -- okay.

3 And so you're not weighing and
4 you're not making value judgments as to whether
5 or not these are good or bad things?

6 A. No. I'm trying not to.

7 The title of one of my papers is
8 the Good Bad Job where I'm really trying to
9 hold multiple viewpoints and just talk about
10 control.

11 Q. Okay. And this is a general
12 opinion, we're still in general here, right?

13 44?

14 A. Yes. We're still in general.

15 Q. So, for example, monitoring
16 emails, I mean, I didn't see this come up
17 later.

18 You're not opining that Uber
19 monitors emails or messages or anything of
20 their drivers, right?

21 A. No. I'm not.

22 Q. Okay. And, you know, one -- one
23 aspect here, tracking location, is that
24 something that goes into the algorithm for
25 matching drivers with riders?

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 248

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 A. Yes.

3 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

4 THE WITNESS: I see it as one of
5 the ways tracking drivers' locations is
6 used.

7 BY MR. WYATT:

8 Q. Okay. One of the ways is, it
9 create the opportunities for riders and drivers
10 to connect, right?

11 A. Yes. That is one of the ways.

12 Q. Okay. And in that sense, at
13 least, it's not exerting control over the
14 drivers, correct?

15 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

16 THE WITNESS: No. It's
17 definitely exerting control.

18 BY MR. WYATT:

19 Q. Well, let me ask it differently.
20 In that way, it's benefitting
21 drivers by creating opportunities to connect
22 with riders, correct?

23 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

24 THE WITNESS: I try to stay
25 neutral.

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 249

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 I say it's matching the drivers,
3 because they're tracking locations and
4 that's a form of control.

5 BY MR. WYATT:

6 Q. Okay. But in your prior
7 writings, you have referred to these aspects of
8 the platform as benefits to drivers, correct?

9 A. I don't believe I talked about
10 matching as being a benefit for drivers.

11 Q. Oh, okay.

12 But you have talked about
13 benefits to drivers in prior writing, I think
14 that's what we're looking at, right?

15 A. Yeah. I mean there are benefits
16 that Uber driving has for drivers. Definitely.

17 Q. Okay. Okay.

18 In Paragraph 45, you refer to,
19 "often workers are unaware of the changes
20 accomplished by the algorithmic management
21 system and their implications for their
22 economic livelihood", right?

23 A. Correct.

24 Q. And then, "Ride-Hailing
25 companies, can and often do instantly suspend

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 250

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON
2 driver's access to the app or sign them a less
3 profitable ride after a customer complaint,
4 even before the complaint is investigated",
5 correct?

6 A. Yes.

7 Q. And we talked about that a
8 little bit earlier, right?

9 A. Correct.

10 Q. And you cite your own research
11 here and we've referred to this article a
12 couple times today, right, Cameron 2022?

13 A. Yes. I mean, that's my own
14 research, but I also have seen evidence of that
15 in some of the documents I reviewed for other
16 cases.

17 Q. Okay. And we talked about some
18 of the examples earlier, right?

19 A. Yes.

20 Q. And there was one example,
21 right, we don't need to look at it unless you
22 want to, but there was one example in Cameron
23 2022 of a driver who was temporarily band from
24 the platform due to a dubious customer
25 complaint.

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 251

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Do you remember that driver?

3 A. No.

4 Q. I don't think there's more
5 details about it, so I just wondered if you
6 remember what the issue was. Okay.

7 And so, one category that we
8 talked about earlier is that some drivers are
9 instantly suspended from the platform because
10 of a safety issue, correct?

11 A. Yes. I believe that can happen.

12 Q. And do you have an opinion on
13 whether Uber's approach to suspending drivers,
14 based on safety complaints, is too harsh or not
15 harsh enough?

16 A. I have no opinion about that.

17 Q. Okay. You do say that instant
18 deactivation favors the customers over workers,
19 right?

20 A. I would agree.

21 Q. Okay. And do you think that's
22 unfair or wrong?

23 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

24 Incomplete hypothetical.

25 THE WITNESS: I'm not sure if

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 252

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 I -- I think what I mentioned earlier,
3 it's not so much the question of, like,
4 is it unfair or wrong.

5 It's more, is there, like -- I
6 think personally my concern is how is
7 there a way for drivers to get back on
8 the app, but like I said, that's more of
9 a personal thought and not my actual --
10 it's not what I do my research on.

11 BY MR. WYATT:

12 Q. Okay. And do you think there
13 are some safety violations severe enough that a
14 driver should not have an opportunity to get
15 back on the app?

16 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

17 THE WITNESS: My personal
18 opinion, yes.

19 BY MR. WYATT:

20 Q. Okay. And do you know that
21 there's an allegation in this case that before
22 2019, an initial allegation of sexual assault
23 should have been deemed sufficient to
24 automatically revoke a drivers' privileges?

25 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 253

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 THE WITNESS: No.

3 I don't know that.

4 BY MR. WYATT:

5 Q. Okay. Okay.

6 A. And let me say, maybe it was
7 mentioned in the documents that I reviewed, but
8 I don't know that.

9 Q. No. That's fair enough.

10 There's a lot of documents in
11 this case, so -- but that's not something you
12 focused on for purposes of your report?

13 Is that fair?

14 A. No. Not at all.

15 Q. And then, I'm going to scoot
16 ahead a little bit here for this question, in
17 Paragraph 95, is about the -- the title is
18 "Uber's Algorithmically Mediated Customer
19 Ratings System", right?

20 A. Yes.

21 Q. And actually, if we go down a
22 little bit further to -- (inaudible) -- we have
23 deactivation and reactivation, right?

24 A. Yes.

25 Q. And one thing you say here is

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 254

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 that you -- it looks like this is a quote, but
3 I can't tell because there's -- I can't tell,
4 you tell me.

5 It says, "This difficult
6 deactivation experience is echoed in a survey
7 of 810 earners, where two-thirds of the report
8 having been deactivated, the article uses this
9 term temporary to mean both permanent
10 deactivation and temporary waitlisting at some
11 point."

12 Does that quote maybe from this
13 document here, Uber --

14 A. I would -- I would think most
15 likely.

16 Q. Okay. Do you know, like, who
17 these 810 earners were? Was this, like, a
18 random sample or was this like a group of
19 people that experienced some kind of issue that
20 the two-thirds reported having been
21 deactivated?

22 A. Oh, this would be Uber's data
23 right here, so we should pull up that document,
24 because I don't know off the top of my head.

25 Q. Okay. Okay. Fair enough.

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 255

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 I mean, is it your experience
3 that two-thirds of drivers have been
4 deactivated at some point without knowing why?

5 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

6 THE WITNESS: So I think the
7 question you're asking is based on all
8 the data that I've collected, were
9 two-thirds of the drivers deactivated
10 without knowing why?

11 BY MR. WYATT:

12 Q. Right.

13 A. I mean, while I could answer
14 that question, I don't have a representative
15 sample, so I'm not sure if that's -- I don't
16 think it's fair to ask that research question
17 of my data, because that's not a question my
18 data could answer with any sort of, you know,
19 validity or rigor.

20 Q. Okay. Fair enough.

21 A. I think this was a PowerPoint
22 that I saw that was written by individuals
23 working at Uber and it was something about how
24 they were trying to -- I think they were
25 basically reporting on drivers' experiences.

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 256

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Q. Okay.

3 Going back up to Paragraph 46.

4 We're still on the four ways that algorithmic
5 control works.

6 And in this one, you write,
7 "On-demand apps, for example, allow workers to
8 compete across multiple zones for assignments
9 and communicate in realtime with customers.
10 This often results in workers staying online to
11 work on the app at strange hours, which is
12 precisely one of the goals of an on-demand
13 organization."

14 Do you see that?

15 A. Yes.

16 Q. Okay. You're -- you're not
17 opining here that Uber forces workers to work
18 at certain hours, correct?

19 A. No. Not the word force.

20 Encourage is a better word.

21 Q. Okay. Encourage. But even if
22 it encourages drivers to do this, is this still
23 the drivers' choice, whether to do that or not?

24 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

25 THE WITNESS: I think it's

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 257

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 really tricky when you're trying to ask
3 these questions about choice around
4 schedule flexibility.5 I think I mentioned earlier, the
6 majority of rides on the platform are
7 done by a minority of drivers and so
8 there's an economic dependence that's on
9 there.10 So there is a way about how, if
11 I need to earn X-amount of money, then
12 I'm going to be up at 4:00 a.m. to take
13 people to the airport.

14 BY MR. WYATT:

15 Q. And so that applies to a
16 minority of drivers is what you're saying, the
17 20 percent that do 80 percent of the work.

18 Is that right?

19 A. The ones -- yes.

20 The ones that are economically
21 depended on the work. Yeah.22 Q. Okay. And so does that not
23 apply to the 80 percent who do only 20 percent
24 of the work?

25 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 258

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 THE WITNESS: I'm not sure if it
3 apply -- I -- it could apply to the
4 80 percent as well.5 I think I'm more concerned
6 about -- I tend to think more deeply
7 about the 20 percent, because that's
8 where the base, I would say, of Uber --
9 of Uber's revenue comes from.10 So it's a question around
11 intensification of control and I'm saying
12 when individuals are economically
13 dependent on the work, there's an
14 intensification of control as opposed to
15 those who may not be economically
16 dependent on the work.

17 BY MR. WYATT:

18 Q. Okay. And then Paragraph 47,
19 you refer to many on-demand organizations
20 running experiments on their workers.

21 What do you mean by experiments?

22 A. Oh, well, this is very common on
23 platform strategy, often because these forms
24 grow, like, through network effects.

25 They tend not to have a

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 259

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON
2 strategy, like, let's sit in a room and write
3 out a plan for what we're going to do for the
4 next six years. They often will run tests on
5 their networks. I'm going to do a experiment
6 in Chicago about this neighborhood in Chicago
7 about raising surges, but not in this
8 neighborhood of Chicago, and I'm going to
9 compare the results and then that will inform
10 my strategy.

11 So it's very much using data
12 from the workers to drive the -- whatever
13 control mechanisms are put into place. And I
14 mean, that's common across any -- company,
15 including Uber.

16 Q. And is this another thing where
17 you're not passing a value judgment on the word
18 experiment, you're just using this to
19 illustrate a form of control?

20 A. Exactly.

21 They're called AB testing.

22 Q. Does the word experiment --
23 experimenting on people, is kind of a charged
24 phrase, no?

25 A. It's true. It's true. It makes

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 260

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 you think of the Milgram experiments, but no,
3 this is a form of strategy to run
4 experimentation on workers.

5 Now, granted you could argue
6 there's a level of coercion involved because
7 are there individuals really consenting to it.

8 I mean, there's a concept that
9 Robin brings up in 2024 called Boilerplate
10 Creek, that these terms or services change for
11 workers and they don't have a chance to read
12 it, they just accept and then the terms of the
13 experiment has changed again.

14 So there is a way that you could
15 think about it as being more coercive, but
16 here -- and so I do talk about workers are
17 unaware of the specifics of the experiments,
18 that's true, but overall, this is a form of
19 strategy.

20 Q. Okay. And in 49, kind of
21 continuing this concept, I think, you write,
22 let me find it -- "in ride-hailing, companies
23 can automate drivers and routes at the city
24 level in ways that are unobservable to
25 drivers", correct?

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 261

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 A. Correct.

3 And I think that should be
4 atomize, not automize.

5 Q. Got it. That's a good fix.

6 I wasn't even focused on that.

7 Okay. So atomize drivers in
8 routes at the city level in ways that are
9 unobservable to drivers, correct?

10 A. Correct.

11 Q. But drivers are free to take
12 their own routes if they want, correct?

13 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

14 THE WITNESS: Such -- I mean,
15 that's a very complex question.

16 So do they have to use the Uber
17 GPS system? They could possibly use
18 ways, but if they end up deviating in
19 some way that's not by their route,
20 that's not the suggested route, they can
21 be penalized for this, maybe go -- you
22 know, they'll be suspected of doing fraud
23 or maybe the customer will be upset and
24 ask for a partial refund.

25 So there are ways in which

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 262

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 there's a lot of strong encouragement to
3 take the routes as directed by Uber.

4 BY MR. WYATT:

5 Q. Okay. And what's the source for
6 the part about the penalties and upset riders?

7 A. I've seen it in other documents
8 from Uber, that -- in another case about how
9 drivers were suspected of fraud when they took
10 routes that were different.

11 Q. Okay. In Paragraph 50 you talk
12 about how, "Given this -- given that work on
13 closed labor market platforms is generally
14 locationally dependent, e.g., completed
15 in-person, these workers are less likely to be
16 active in online communities that would grow
17 information sharing amongst themselves."

18 Do you see that?

19 A. Correct.

20 Q. And is that something that
21 applies to Uber?

22 A. Yes.

23 Q. But you've also written, right,
24 about how drivers that you studied did use
25 online communities to --

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 263

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 A. Correct.

3 Q. -- correct?

4 A. Yeah. It's true.

5 So I think the one thing that I
6 would say is wrong about this sentence, that I
7 say less likely.

8 And with qualitative research,
9 you can't really do comparison to say more or
10 less likely, so that word is probably -- it's
11 not the best word, but just -- but I would say
12 in general, I have found more workers on
13 open-labor market platforms, like Upwork,
14 active on the forums as opposed to those on
15 closed-labor market platforms like Uber.

16 But of course, there are still
17 Uber drivers that are on these forums, I just
18 tend to think there's a smaller number of them
19 comparatively as opposed to people who are
20 doing fully remote online work.

21 Q. Okay. And is that something
22 you've looked at closely, like, and have seen
23 studies on or is this just an impression --

24 A. It's just an impression.

25 Q. Okay. And then, let's see.

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 264

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 The next section starts on
3 Page 26, "how on-demand organizations exercise
4 organizational control through algorithmically
5 mediated customer control", correct?

6 A. Correct. And I -- I want to
7 say, it's an impression, but I just want to
8 give a sense that it is a fair amount of
9 research. I think I have an example in
10 Cameron 2022, like I say out of 63 drivers,
11 maybe 15 were on forums or something like that.

12 And I wrote a paper comparing
13 Upwork and Uber and it was, like, you know,
14 every Uber -- every Upwork person was on an
15 online forum.

16 So when I say my -- I mean,
17 there's just a difference when you're doing
18 online work and you're always on a computer
19 versus in-person.

20 So I just want to give a sense,
21 like, it is an impression, I haven't written an
22 empirical research study on it, but it's one
23 that I think is grounded in a fair amount of
24 research.

25 Q. Okay. In 54 you write,

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 265

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 "on-demand organizations are unique in the
3 extent to which they outsource performance
4 management to customers and use algorithmic
5 management to collect data and then influence
6 worker behavior", correct?

7 A. Correct.

8 Q. Does customer feedback -- not in
9 the on-demand economy, not affect -- let me
10 start over, too many nots.

11 So somebody -- for a worker not
12 in the on-demand economy, are they influenced
13 by customer feedback?

14 A. Yes. They are.

15 Q. Okay. And how is it -- how --
16 how is it uniquely more so the case in
17 on-demand organizations?

18 A. So if you read Cameron and
19 Rothman in 2022, I discuss this in depth, but
20 what I remember, just sort of at the high
21 level, it's about how customer -- you think
22 about a mystery shopper will come into the
23 store and then they'll say good or bad job of
24 selling you on these jeans and maybe your
25 manager will coach you next time to upsell your

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 266

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 jeans better.

3 I mean, their invasiveness is
4 the customer rating, directly influences what
5 your match is going to be next, or whether or
6 not you're going to be in this loyalty program
7 and get a preferred priority matching, or
8 whether or not you're going to be temporarily
9 deactivated.

10 So there's a intensification of
11 inputting customers into the -- the labor
12 process and this is what Maffie actually calls
13 laundering control.

14 He says often that
15 organization -- you know, on-demand companies
16 say we're not controlling workers, the
17 customers actually are, but honestly, the
18 customers are proxy for the organization in
19 this setting.

20 And, I mean, I talk about more
21 in this paper -- in this report, that it's more
22 than just the algorithmic management system,
23 there's all the normative suggestions that are
24 in, like, YouTube videos about how to service
25 customers, so it's like a particular type of --

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 267

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 we call them scripts and service rules that
3 people need to follow.

4 So customers are a very
5 important mechanism of control in this setting.

6 Q. I guess my question is, isn't it
7 true in most sales contexts that you need to
8 please the customer if you want to keep getting
9 business?

10 A. That is true, if the extent that
11 I'm arguing is different here, the -- the
12 intense -- it's an intensification of control
13 by customers in this setting, along with
14 quantification that makes the on-demand economy
15 so distinct.

16 Q. Okay. And that's not something
17 that's been studied qualitatively, I assume,
18 this is all qualitative research?

19 A. Let me think.

20 I'm not entirely sure. There is
21 some quantitative research that's been coming
22 out. I'm actually a reviewer for a lot of
23 quantitative pieces. I'm not sure if it looks
24 at this explicitly, though, so I'm not sure.

25 Q. Okay. Just skimming here.

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 268

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Okay. So if we go to --

3 skipping ahead, Paragraph 60 -- well, so, first
4 of all, so now we're in the Section C, "How
5 on-demand organizations influence the behaviors
6 of customers."

7 Do you see that?

8 A. Correct.

9 Q. Okay. And then Paragraph 63
10 says, "On-demand organizations also shape
11 conditions -- the conditions around the service
12 encounter, such as the location of the service
13 encounter and the surveillance surrounding it."14 It goes on to say, "On-demand
15 organizations also determine any surveillance
16 and control mechanisms to be used during the
17 service encounters, such as cameras or audio
18 recordings.".19 And then it says, "Uber has been
20 offering subsidized dash cams to workers to
21 monitor in-car activities."

22 Do you see that?

23 A. Yes.

24 Q. And so, similar questions to
25 what I asked before.

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 269

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Are you taking sort of a
3 position, good or bad, about the use of dash
4 cams and other surveillance tools?

5 A. No. It's just another form of
6 control.

7 Q. Okay.

8 A. Or can be used as a form of
9 control.

10 Q. Okay. And are you aware --
11 well, first of all, on the -- in connection
12 with driving on the Uber platform, are you
13 aware that use of dash cams is optional?

14 A. Yes. I am aware.

15 Q. And are you aware that the
16 Plaintiff's theory in this case or one theory
17 in this case is that Uber should have required
18 drivers to use dash cams?

19 MS. POLLACK: Object to form.

20 Incomplete. Lack of foundation.

21 THE WITNESS: No.

22 I didn't know that.

23 BY MR. WYATT:

24 Q. Okay. Okay.

25 And if we go to 64, so next

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 270

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON
2 section, "How on-demand companies use
3 algorithmic management to obfuscate their
4 organization -- organizational control over
5 workers", right?

6 A. Yep.

7 Q. And then, the first sentence of
8 64, "One way that organizations can avoid
9 fueling worker resentment and resistance, is to
10 superficially provide workers with a sense of
11 autonomy while also imposing significant
12 constraints", right?

13 A. Exactly.

14 Q. And so, what is the sense of
15 autonomy that you're talking about here?

16 A. Oh, that's every paragraph
17 that's underneath it. I provide -- there are
18 many different theoretical words for what this
19 sense of autonomy is.

20 So I mean, we're looking at one
21 right now, it's called Confident Confine
22 Choice, that helps workers feel like they have
23 a sense of autonomy.

24 One would be cultural narratives
25 about the drivers think that I'm their own

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 271

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 boss, that gives them a sense of autonomy,
3 which is linked to schedule flexibility.4 I think that's one of the key
5 mechanisms that make the gig economy so
6 enticing to workers is because it really has
7 this mechanism of control nailed down.8 Q. Okay. So creating a sense of
9 you autonomy, it's part of a -- sorry.

10 Scratch that.

11 Is part of what sense of
12 autonomy implies that the autonomy is not real?

13 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

14 THE WITNESS: Not quite.

15 It's more that the autonomy is
16 nested within a larger set of control.17 An example I sometimes use is
18 like if you offer your child broccoli or
19 brussel sprouts for dinner, like, they
20 have a sense of autonomy or choice to
21 choose, but either way they're eating
22 green vegetables and you're exerting
23 parental control.

24 BY MR. WYATT:

25 Q. And how do you measure a

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 272

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 drivers' sense of autonomy?

3 A. So I do mostly qualitative
4 research, so I don't measure anything.

5 Q. Well, how do you evaluate it?

6 A. I also wouldn't say I evaluate.

7 Q. How do you form an
8 interpretation of it?

9 A. That -- so back earlier when I
10 talked about -- I'm research -- I'm reading the
11 transcripts, I'm collecting the data, and I'm
12 going to literature, and I'm doing this back
13 and forth area of tacking between coding and
14 memoing and theory, that's how I'm able to
15 interpret it.

16 Q. When you did your semistructured
17 interviews and conversations, is this something
18 you would ask specifically about, like, do you
19 feel autonomy in this job?

20 A. Oh, no.

21 You would never do that.

22 Q. Okay. So how do you get at it
23 if that's a question of interest to you?

24 A. So in qualitative research, you
25 would never ask someone a leading question like

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 273

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 that, because you would get data that was
3 biased.4 Back to an earlier conversation
5 we had about how do you account for bias in
6 this research, I would ask people, tell me
7 about your day working, what are some things
8 you really like about Uber, what are some
9 things you don't like?10 So you keep the questions
11 incredible broad and open-ended and people tell
12 you what's important to them.

13 Q. Okay.

14 A. But you would -- you would never
15 ask anyone a question like that.

16 Q. Okay. Skipping ahead here.

17 Give me a minute. Okay.

18 Let's skip up to 66.

19 Gamification. You write, "Another way
20 organizations obfuscate control is by gamifying
21 work or applying elements of game playing,
22 e.g., point scoring, competition with others,
23 to work activities to encourage workers to work
24 longer hours.

25 By gamifying work, the work

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 274

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 itself becomes more fun and enjoyable while
3 ensuring that workers' behaviors are aligned
4 with the organization's interests, with the
5 result being that workers are controlled."

6 Do you see that?

7 A. Correct.

8 Q. Does it necessarily follow that
9 the workers are being controlled because they
10 enjoy playing the games?

11 A. The control comes from the fact
12 about how the technology is being designed in a
13 way to entice workers to play the game.

14 And the fact that it's fun keeps
15 them playing. So it's not because I'm having
16 fun -- it's a process of how the control
17 happens. And you might remember there was an
18 earlier paragraph that we went over how when I
19 talked about how you can't control people
20 through sticks, you have to control them
21 through carrots, and a gamification is one type
22 of carrots.

23 Q. So just conceptually, just
24 taking a step back, does control exist anytime,
25 like, a workers and organizations' interests

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 275

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 align in a way that leads the worker to work?

3 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

4 THE WITNESS: I think that
5 question is too broad for me to answer.

6 BY MR. WYATT:

7 Q. I guess what I'm asking is, is
8 there an element I'm missing? Like, does it
9 have to be something that's created by the
10 organization with some intent of controlling
11 the worker or is that not an element of it?

12 A. Actually it doesn't have to be.
13 So I think in the next part of the paper I talk
14 about workplace games and that's actually not
15 organizational derived in the same way that
16 gamification is.

17 Q. Okay. So control can exist
18 theoretically without, you know, the
19 organization even intending to try to control
20 the worker?

21 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

22 THE WITNESS: That is a question
23 that you can answer, depending on the
24 level of analysis.

25 So when I talk about the theory

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 276

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON
2 of workplace games, I talk about how
3 there are elements within Uber's -- like
4 the Uber system, like, the customer in
5 the app, and the rating system, and how
6 much money they make on the score card,
7 which are, like, pieces of how Uber has
8 purposely designed its system that keeps
9 workers vested in the game which creates
10 a source of control.

11 Now, that is a bit different
12 from gamification, which is, from the
13 start, designed from the organization.

14 So I'd say in my workplace game
15 theory, it's less -- it's organizational
16 adjacent, but it's not organizationally
17 designed.

18 However, I know people, like
19 Michael Burroway, would disagree with me,
20 but he would say that even workplace
21 games are designed to protect managerial
22 interest over worker interest and that is
23 sort of built into the organization, but
24 he argues at a higher level of analysis
25 than what I do.

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 277

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 So it's a complicated answer to
3 your question or multi-speed, depending
4 on where you want to draw the line of
5 analysis at.

6 BY MR. WYATT:

7 Q. Okay. And I guess -- and I
8 appreciate that. And just returning for a
9 second to gamification as opposed to workplace
10 games.

11 Isn't the worker also exercising
12 some control over how the worker spends his or
13 her time, for example, by choosing to engage in
14 gamified activities because they enjoy it?

15 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

16 THE WITNESS: Well, this is the
17 conversation we were having just a little
18 while ago about how the systems have to
19 allow for there to be some choice, some
20 autonomy within the larger system that is
21 control.

22 So, yes, to your point, yes, I
23 have some choice because I'm playing this
24 game and it's fun to sort of have it sort
25 of accrue the number of points I get, but

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 278

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 ultimately, it's in a larger system of
3 gamification that's meant to drive
4 workers' behavior in a certain direction.

5 BY MR. WYATT:

6 Q. Would you describe it as a
7 dance, this balance between -- you know,
8 exercise and control that -- allowing for
9 autonomy within that framework?

10 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

11 THE WITNESS: I don't think I
12 quite go with dance, because there's an
13 definite power and balance here.14 So I'm not sure if dance is the
15 right metapore, but it's dynamic, I would
16 agree with that.

17 BY MR. WYATT:

18 Q. Okay. And I mean, do you have a
19 view on whether gamification is a good or a bad
20 thing or is this just another neutral, that's a
21 form of control?22 A. It is another form of control.
23 I might have slightly more negative feelings
24 toward gamification because I feel like it
25 hides a lot of things.

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 279

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 It obfuscates the control and it
3 let's people not know that there's a clear
4 power asymmetry in place. So I don't think I'm
5 fully neutral on gamification.

6 Q. Okay. We talked earlier about
7 how 80 percent of the work is done by
8 20 percent of the drivers -- and this is
9 actually meant to be quantitative, but the
10 concept is that most of the work is done by a
11 few drivers, right?

12 A. Yeah. 80/20 isn't -- like,
13 that's the general economic principle.
14 There's -- I've seen the breakdowns in another
15 case that I've done that just sort of confirms
16 to the fact the majority of rides are given by
17 minority drivers, that's the big point I'm
18 trying to get across.

19 Q. Okay. And so for the majority
20 of drivers who do the least amount of work, are
21 they subject to less control?

22 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

23 THE WITNESS: I mean, it's an
24 interesting question, because that's not
25 how I think about control. I think about

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 280

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON
2 control as more of, like, an
3 organizational process. It's not so much
4 how it's exercised on one specific
5 individual.

6 And I would agree, like I said
7 earlier, it's intensified for those who
8 are more economically dependent on the
9 work, but the problem with your question,
10 it's a different level of analysis than
11 what you're asking the question of, of
12 then what the concept of organizational
13 control is -- it's not a fair question.

14 BY MR. WYATT:

15 Q. Sorry.

16 I didn't mean to interrupt you.
17 Are you done?

18 A. Yeah. I'm done.

19 Q. Okay. I just got excited
20 because I thought I had a crystallization of
21 what you were talking about.

22 So are you saying that, like,
23 what you're doing is more of a description of
24 the process -- or an organizational process, or
25 less about measuring the impact on specific

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 281

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 progress?

3 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

4 THE WITNESS: If by specific
5 driver, do you mean, like, Joe in Newark,
6 New Jersey?

7 BY MR. WYATT:

8 Q. It could be Joe or it could be
9 groups of drivers. I'm just trying to
10 understand, it sounds like you're focussed on
11 the process within the organization and less
12 about how it actually manifests on the drivers
13 as a group.

14 A. Is that --

15 Q. I would -- I would say, in
16 general, it's a process on how it affects
17 drivers across the board, from, like, Alaska to
18 Maine.

19 A. And then there is data in the
20 five Bellwether cases where I show what it
21 looks like for these five specific drivers, but
22 the bulk of my theory or the bulk of the --
23 it's about this it how it works for Uber as a
24 system.

25 Q. Okay. I'm almost done, so I

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 282

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON
2 would suggest we keep going, if that works for
3 you? I think I've got just a few questions
4 left.

5 A. I'm great.

6 Q. Okay. If we go to section --

7 MS. POLLOCK: What does, what
8 does almost done mean?

9 MR. WYATT: I've got -- I've
10 got --

11 MS. POLLOCK: I've seen lawyers
12 disagree.

13 MR. WYATT: I've got one page of
14 an outline left.

15 MS. POLLOCK: Oh, okay. Great.

16 MR. WYATT: Of an eight-page
17 outline.

18 MS. POLLOCK: Understood.

19 We're good.

20 MR. WYATT: Okay.

21 BY MR. WYATT:

22 Q. Okay. Section 9, "How Uber uses
23 algorithmic management to exercise
24 organizational control over their workers and
25 influence their customers."

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 283

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Do you see that?

3 A. Yes.

4 Q. Okay. And then, there's two
5 sections -- two Subsections, A, "Uber as the
6 quintessential on-demand organization," as one,
7 right?

8 A. Correct.

9 Q. And then the next one is, B,
10 "The usage of general and detailed control by
11 Uber by its algorithmic management system",
12 correct?

13 A. Yes.

14 Q. Okay. And then, in -- in this
15 section, you -- you -- you say you discuss five
16 different components of their -- of Uber's
17 algorithmic management system, correct?

18 A. Correct.

19 Q. And it's matching, up-front
20 pricing, loyalty programs, incentives and
21 geotracking, right?

22 A. Correct.

23 Q. Okay. And then, starting -- we
24 discussed the first two.

25 And then in Paragraph 90, you

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 284

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 get to loyalty programs, right?

3 A. Correct.

4 Q. Okay. Are you relying on any of
5 your own prior research, outside of litigation,
6 for your opinions on the loyalty programs?

7 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

8 THE WITNESS: I'm thinking.

9 So there's a sentence that says,
10 "unlike consumer loyalty programs, such
11 as airline rewards, these programs accept
12 workers granular interactions", that's
13 definitely an intellectual thought of
14 mine, but I feel like the majority of
15 this has come from case documents. Yeah.

16 BY MR. WYATT:

17 Q. And yet that puts a finger on
18 the what -- kind of prompt to my question. I
19 do see citations in this section to litigation
20 documents and literature.

21 A. Uh-huh.

22 Q. But none of the literature
23 citations were to your literature, so I'm just
24 trying to draw lines in my own head between
25 which opinions are anchored in your -- you

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 285

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 know, your academic work versus what you've
3 read for this case.

4 So in this section, this is a
5 thought that you identify as sort of
6 preexisting, this report of yours, but the rest
7 of it is largely based on litigation documents
8 and other people's research?

9 A. So this entire section of the
10 report, not just these two paragraphs, is -- I
11 try to rely much more on case documents and not
12 my own research.

13 I have had these thoughts about
14 loyalty programs well before this case. I've
15 had it since the very first case, but I just --
16 that was data that I think I didn't -- I got
17 better quality data about that from case
18 documents, starting with my very first case I
19 did a few years ago.

20 Q. Okay. But again, to the extent
21 you're relying on litigation materials here,
22 you're only citing materials from this case,
23 correct?

24 A. Correct.

25 But the Massachusetts case had a

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 286

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON
2 lot of data about this and it was very core to
3 sort of forming my opinion and how to think
4 about this, so I feel very confident about this
5 section.

6 There wasn't the same amount of
7 high-quality data about the loyalty program in
8 this -- this set of documents.

9 Q. Okay. Looking ahead to 93, I
10 just -- I kind of had the same question on a
11 couple of these sections.

12 So 93, the incentives, same
13 thing, like, you're not relying here on your
14 prior published work, correct?

15 A. Well, that's really not a fair
16 statement, though. There's no way I could have
17 written this section of the report if I hadn't
18 been studying Uber for the past ten years.

19 So that there's so much general
20 knowledge I have about this company and knowing
21 this research, it would be impossible, there's
22 no way I could have written this.

23 So I am relying on all this, on
24 all my background knowledge to write this
25 section of the report, even though the

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 287

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 citations are just to this specific case.

3 Q. So I -- I hear what you're
4 saying, but I guess my question is a little bit
5 narrower than that.

6 You're not relying on any of the
7 published work that you've done for this
8 incentive piece specifically, right?

9 Unless I missed one?

10 A. Am I citing my research? No.

11 But could I have written the
12 goal of my incentives is to induce drivers to
13 work for longer hours, oftentimes preferred by
14 Uber and continue working for Uber over the
15 long-term.

16 I mean, that is things I've
17 talked about in Cameron 2024, in Cameron and
18 Rothman 2022. Like, I had these ideas in my
19 other research papers, even if they're not
20 explicitly cited here, because they're not --
21 this isn't -- it's -- it's -- these are almost
22 like -- (inaudible) -- to me, what I'm citing
23 in here, as opposed to the theory I'm citing
24 from my other papers.

25 Q. And are incentives something,

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 288

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 like, is that a topic that was covered in some
3 of your original research with drivers, like --

4 A. Yeah. Cameron 2024, there's a
5 whole section on incentives.

6 Q. But is that something that came
7 up in your interviews with drivers?

8 A. Yeah.

9 Came up in my interviews, came
10 up in my cargo data, came up in the online
11 form, came up as me as driving.

12 Q. Okay. And then, the importance
13 of Uber Pro plan and realtime incentives, is
14 that also something that would have come up in
15 research or did you get that specific about it?

16 MS. POLLOCK: Object to form.

17 THE WITNESS: I'm thinking.

18 The pay, overall pay is
19 important and in fact satisfaction, that
20 was important in, like -- it came out in
21 the early draft that didn't get
22 published, the paper changed and so that
23 it didn't come in.

24 But I remember thinking about
25 pay, because remember I talked about how

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 289

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 I made all those categories as I was
3 content coding the data?

4 There's an early category I had
5 around pay and the thing is it wasn't as
6 theoretically interesting, which is why
7 it ends up not being in the report, or it
8 doesn't end up being in my published
9 research, but it's something I've been
10 thinking about.

11 The same with B, "The ability to
12 earn income plays a role whether people
13 sign up to drive. If you read Cameron,
14 2022, and the boundary conditions and
15 future research, I talk about it.

16 What I'm getting at is, like,
17 empirically what is -- on all these cites
18 here that we have from the data case is
19 not the same what researchers find
20 theoretically interesting.

21 So I've thought many of these
22 ideas before, but they're not the core of
23 what informed my theoretical argument.

24 So, yeah.

25 BY MR. WYATT:

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Page 290

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 Q. Okay. That's all I'm trying to
3 figure out. Is this something that came up in
4 your experience or is it being pulled from the
5 documents or both?

6 A. I would say the loyalty program
7 data is the one that I really relied on case
8 documents the most.

9 Q. Okay.

10 And then 95, rating system.

11 Is this also something that was
12 explored in your published work?

13 A. Yeah. Cameron and Rothman,
14 2022, is all about the customer rating system.

15 Q. Okay. And I did see that cite
16 in this section.

17 95, F, Deactivation and
18 Revisitation, we talked about that. I know
19 that's covered in your --

20 A. Yeah.

21 Q. -- work.

22 96, Experimentation, we talked
23 about that --

24 A. I don't talk about that -- I
25 don't talk about that very much in my research,

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 291

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 the experimenting.

3 Q. Okay. And what about
4 geotracking and monitoring?

5 A. Yeah. It's in Cameron, 2024.

6 Q. Okay.

7 MR. WYATT: Okay.

8 I have no further questions.

9 MS. POLLOCK: All right.

10 We can go off the record,
11 please.

12 THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Going off the
13 video record. Time is 7:39 p.m.

14 - - -

15 (Whereupon, a recess took place
16 from 7:39 p.m. to 7:42 p.m.).

17 - - -

18 THE VIDEOGRAPHER: We are back
19 on the video record.

20 The time is 7:42 p.m.

21 - - -

22 EXAMINATION

23 - - -

24 BY MS. POLLOCK:

25 Q. Dr. Cameron, I have the

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 292

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 opportunity to just ask you a couple of
3 follow-up questions from questions that you
4 were asked by counsel for Uber.

5 First, I want to direct your
6 attention to Paragraph 7 of your expert report,
7 which you can see before you on the screen.

8 A. Yes.

9 Q. All right.

10 And you were asked in the second
11 sentence of Paragraph 7, about whether this
12 sentence was a fair summary of your methodology
13 in this case.

14 Do you recall that question?

15 A. Yes.

16 Q. All right.

17 And were there other steps
18 involved in your methodology in this case that
19 were -- are not described in this sentence?

20 A. By the word in-depth and
21 observation, it's more than just I drove for
22 Uber for 100 hours.

23 It includes, you know, I've
24 interviewed people longitudinally for seven
25 years, -- data, online forums, public documents

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 293

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON
2 from Uber for \$1s to advertisements to
3 promotional materials, just scraping the web
4 forums for the past ten years.

5 So when I mean emerging, it's
6 not just me driving, it's, like, you know, it's
7 really what I've eat, lived, breathed for the
8 past ten years.

9 And then to think of the last
10 thing, to see things from the experiential view
11 of actors in this field doesn't mean that
12 workers say I like apples and then you just
13 take it as face value that they like apples.

14 Like, there's a whole amount of
15 scientific evidence that you create because you
16 do this emergement, it allows to you extract or
17 theorize much broader than someone's
18 individual's experience.

19 Q. As part of your methodology in
20 this case, did you take the opportunity to
21 review other published literature?

22 A. Yes. I read a fair amount of
23 outside literature for this case.

24 Q. All right.

25 MS. POLLOCK: I have no further

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Page 294

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 questions.

3 MR. WYATT: Nothing from me
4 either. Thank you for your time.

5 MS. POLLOCK: Happy birthday.

6 THE WITNESS: Yeah.

7 Happy birthday.

8 THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Going off the
9 video record. The time is 7:44 p.m.

10 THE COURT REPORTER: I'll start
11 with Jeff, my understanding is you would
12 like the final November 14th, and a rough
13 draft?

14 MR. WYATT: Yeah. As soon as
15 possible on the rough. Sorry.

16 MS. POLLOCK: Yes. Please.

17 - - -

18 (DR. LINDSEY CAMERON was
19 excused.)

20 - - -

21 (Deposition concluded at
22 7:44 p.m.)

23

24

25

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Page 295

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON
2 C E R T I F I C A T E

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA:

COUNTY OF PHILADELPHIA:

I, Beau Dillard, RPR, a Notary Public within and for the County and State aforesaid, do hereby certify that the foregoing deposition of DR. LINDSEY CAMERON was taken before me, pursuant to notice, at the time and place indicated; that said deponent was by me duly sworn to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth; that the testimony of said deponent was correctly recorded in machine shorthand by me and thereafter transcribed under my supervision with computer-aided transcription; that the deposition is a true record of the testimony given by the witness; and that I am neither of counsel nor kin to any party in said action, nor interested in the outcome thereof.

WITNESS my hand and official seal this
14th day of November, 2025.

Tom Dillen

Beau Dillard, RPR
Notary Public

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Page 296

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 INSTRUCTIONS TO WITNESS

3
4 Please read your deposition over
5 carefully and make any necessary corrections.
6 You should state the reason in the appropriate
7 space on the errata sheet for any corrections
8 that are made.9 After doing so, please sign the errata
10 sheet and date it.11 You are signing same subject to the
12 changes you have noted on the errata sheet,
13 which will be attached to your deposition.14 It is imperative that you return the
15 original errata sheet to the depositing attorney
16 within thirty (30) days of receipt of the
17 deposition transcript by you. If you fail to
18 do so, the deposition transcript may be deemed
19 to be accurate and may be used in court.

20

21

22

23

24

25

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 297

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 - - - - -

3 E R R A T A

4 - - - - -

5 PAGE LINE CHANGE

6 -

7 Reason for

8 Change: _____

9 -

10 Reason for

11 Change: _____

12 -

13 Reason for

14 Change: _____

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16 Reason for Change:

17 _____

18 -

19 Reason for Change:

20 _____

21 -

22 Reason for Change:

23 _____

24 -

25

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

Page 298

1 DR. LINDSEY CAMERON

2 ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF DEPONENT

3 I, _____, do hereby
4 certify that I have read the foregoing pages __
5 to __ and that the same is a correct
6 transcription of the answers given by me to the
7 questions therein propounded, except for the
8 corrections or changes in form or substance, if
9 any, noted in the attached Errata Sheet.

10

11

12 _____

12 _____

13

14

15 DATE

15 SIGNATURE

16

17

18 Subscribed and sworn to before
19 me this _____ day of _____,
20 2025.

21

22

23

24

25

My commission expires:

Notary Public

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[& - 2024]

Page 1

&	100 292:22 11 3:13 4:20 156:15,18 114 4:14 12 5:3 24:3,4 24:11,16 53:14 162:19,22 12th 1:16 8:6 13 4:16 5:6 60:24 71:16 184:15,20 1301 2:10 14 76:20 120:25 121:7 121:21 122:18 124:8,11 127:10 142 4:18 14th 294:12 295:15 15 101:10 131:14 264:11 150 206:21 156 4:23 16 121:22 122:7,12,13 149:10,15 158:22 162 5:4 17 5:6 159:2 169:8 18 3:16 20:16 204:7,9	184 5:8 1967 183:11 188:7 1995 190:10 2 2 3:15,23 18:22 18:25 19:4 28:3,6,8 29:4 32:6,7 63:6 70:9 84:10 123:11,12 20 20:11 27:18 29:7,13 257:17 257:23 258:7 279:8 20004 2:10 2001 188:11 2003 208:3 2006 67:24 188:12 2008 67:23 157:9,17 2009 235:19 2013 111:9 203:8 230:10 237:13 2015 230:12 2016 111:21 2017 33:14 117:12 2018 4:21 13:11 157:16 157:19	2019 13:10 57:7,11,15,19 58:7 138:23 252:22 202-389-3393 2:11 2020 13:10 111:6 112:14 112:16,19,23 112:25 113:3 226:18 2021 4:9 57:15 57:20 58:7,25 59:18 65:22 72:11 169:25 2022 105:14 138:24 193:17 193:18 195:14 203:25 205:25 207:12 250:12 250:23 264:10 265:19 287:18 289:14 290:14 2023 13:21 15:11 142:19 237:13 2024 20:16,21 21:3,11,18 54:8 55:2 64:10 85:6 164:21 168:15 197:14 225:21 260:9 287:17 288:4 291:5
--------------	--	--	--

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[2025 - 90s]

Page 2

2025 1:16 8:6 11:25 19:9 20:17,22 21:19 22:2,9,15,17,21 23:2,15 295:15 298:17 20250926 5:3 20251024 3:12 20251105 3:18 20251110 4:3 207 186:22 20s 29:10 21851 295:18 22 6:11 24:14 22nd 20:17 23:22 24:2 23-03084 5:4 23rd 85:6 24th 11:25 20:14 25 3:20 121:8 122:18 127:10 26 121:14 212:10,12 264:3 26th 19:9 20:5 27 3:23 212:10 212:16,20 213:18 28 212:10 214:14 29 163:7 218:16	291 3:7 2:13 1:17 8:5 2:15 10:24 11:4 2:16 11:4,8 3 3 3:18 25:15,19 35:2 85:24 121:3 158:17 30 4:5 296:16 32 4:7 228:10 35 231:10 36 161:18 37 239:3,13 3:23 1:6 3:25 84:3,6 3:28 84:6 4 4 3:22 27:8,12 35:17 37:9,13 96:6 97:15 218:5 40 6:11 41 240:9 42 91:12 43 243:21 244:3 44 245:10 247:13 45 249:18 46 256:3 47 258:18 49 260:20	4:00 257:12 4:49 158:9,12 5 5 4:3 30:13,17 34:25 36:23 96:12 50 115:2 231:15 262:11 500 201:17 54 264:25 58.5 20:20 59 4:9 5:04 158:12,16 6 6 4:7 33:2,7 38:10 87:20 60 12:4 268:3 618-259-2222 2:6 62002 2:5 63 264:10 268:9 64 269:25 270:8 66 273:18 6:05 217:21,24 6:20 217:24 218:4 6apr 4:7 6th 33:14	7 7 4:9 6:15 38:23 50:24 51:18 52:25 59:9,12 85:24 86:3 87:25 99:17 176:19 292:6,11 7,500 19:22 77 67:22 7:39 291:13,16 7:42 291:16,20 7:44 294:9,22 8 8 4:11 41:13 50:24 84:19,24 85:24 86:7 94:11 199:4 80 257:17,23 258:4 279:7 80/20 279:12 810 254:7,17 84 4:11 86 91:11 9 9 3:6 4:13 50:15 51:8 114:10,15 282:22 90 283:25 90s 188:9,17
--	--	--	---

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[93 - actually]

Page 3

93 286:9,12	103:17 106:22	193:2 273:5	67:7 102:3
95 253:17	academic 87:5	accounts	153:25 193:19
290:10,17	109:21 124:14	144:12	252:9
96 231:15	124:20 128:4	accrue 277:25	actually 14:23
290:22	130:8 132:10	accuracy	26:21 33:25
98 121:15	152:12 155:16	131:18	37:17 41:4
99 139:13	157:10,25	accurate 12:13	42:25 52:7
a			
a.m. 257:12	212:13 214:17	17:8 20:23	66:17 67:4,12
ab 259:21	216:16 285:2	125:15 169:12	67:25 69:20
ability 155:2	academics	186:6 211:10	80:10 83:4
187:8 289:11	13:16,17	296:19	94:3 104:13
able 59:20	acceleration	accurately	107:23 108:5
67:25 71:2,24	225:4 246:4	235:20	109:7 112:24
72:5 120:17	accept 260:12	accused 80:3	116:22 121:22
125:15 126:13	284:11	acknowledge	121:22 122:6
126:16,17,22	acceptable	7:4,9 124:15	123:5,11
148:10,11	54:21 82:22	acknowledg...	128:17 140:23
168:23 170:7	accepted 27:24	298:2	145:21 147:6
171:18 228:5	28:17 29:4	act 144:14	149:11 150:16
230:4,5 272:14	106:15,23	action 27:2	150:17 155:22
above 7:16	231:6	35:21 37:2	157:12 160:4
163:9 200:11	accepting	39:2 50:17	160:20 167:2
abstract 104:16	225:5	51:5,17 295:13	167:14 175:8
138:6 140:14	access 71:9	actions 201:5	176:22 190:5,8
189:7	93:2 179:19	active 262:16	194:9 207:25
abstraction	180:3 222:2,3	263:14	208:10 219:23
216:8	250:2	activities	220:3 226:20
abstractly	accessible 39:6	161:22 228:15	226:22 231:4
134:4	accident 34:19	268:21 273:23	232:8,13 242:3
abstracts 32:8	76:15 80:9	277:14	253:21 266:12
academia	accomplished	actors 177:7	266:17 267:22
102:19 103:12	249:20	293:11	275:12,14
	account 71:2	actual 13:16	279:9 281:12
	191:6,13,16,25	24:12 44:2	

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[add - allowed]

Page 4

add 36:17 118:13 120:14 233:13	advance 206:9 advertisements 293:2	ahead 37:20 98:20 125:22 affect 198:16 265:9	224:13 225:10 225:24 226:19 234:12 235:14 235:20 236:2,4 236:10,14,25 237:2 240:25
added 14:11 27:21	affected 196:13 196:17	affected 196:13 286:9	aided 295:11 airline 284:11 airport 257:13 alaska 281:17 alex 150:23 algorithm 144:14 197:13
addition 32:18 207:20	affects 281:16 affiliated 98:23	affiliations 8:20	241:8 242:3,17 243:8,22 245:12 249:20 256:4 265:4 266:22 270:3 282:23 283:11 283:17
additional 12:23 14:9,10 20:4 32:18 38:5	aforesaid 295:6 afternoon 8:4 9:18,19,24	ag 90:9 ago 15:14 30:4 55:18 170:18 277:18 285:19	algorithmically 197:22 198:18 223:15 224:8 224:19 225:19 240:15,17,21 241:14 242:11 247:24
address 83:17 120:6,9	agree 64:22 122:16 124:2	algorithmic 4:16 41:22 145:5 151:25 165:17 166:8	240:20,21,23 241:19 242:12 245:17
addressed 89:17	adjustment 167:16 185:10 186:11 189:9	64:12 66:5,11 66:13 74:7 88:13,22 89:15	align 66:20 275:2
addressing 89:11 95:6 130:24	administered 190:20 194:23 195:22 196:11	92:12 116:13 116:18,22	aligned 274:3 aligns 67:19 161:20
adherence 245:19	administrative 219:7 221:3,13 222:12,15,21	122:2 142:19 142:19 144:3,7	allegation 252:21,22
adjacent 234:15 276:16	admissibility 128:15	144:13 165:2 167:11 170:24	allegations 95:21
adjudicate 81:23	adopt 144:8	173:4 193:4,24 194:4,15,18	allow 256:7 277:19
adjustment 236:9	agreed 7:18	195:7,12,16	allowed 187:19
administered 7:10,11	agreement 7:16 37:24 50:2,5	197:17 215:13	
administrative 64:10	222:2		
admissibility 128:15			
adopt 144:8			

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[allowing - apply]

Page 5

allowing 278:8	215:24	187:16 195:8	173:3 197:7
allows 103:6,20	analyze 177:19	209:8 213:8	220:24 221:4,5
293:16	204:4,6 206:25	225:15 227:8	221:5,6,13
altercation	213:21,24	233:11 234:5	222:13,24
81:12	anchored	237:11 244:18	223:11 238:20
alton 2:5	284:25	255:13,18	242:12,19
amenable	anecdotal	275:5,23 277:2	250:2 252:8,15
240:20	131:16,21	answered	256:11 276:5
america 139:20	132:18 133:15	213:9	appeal 78:9
208:23 210:3,6	154:7 207:18	answering	appealing
211:18	207:23 208:16	186:21	151:7
amount 160:7	anecdotal	answers 16:7	appearances
163:11 164:6	208:20	16:20 78:25	8:20
165:14,20	angle 195:17	298:6	appeared 60:15
166:10,18,21	anna 2:4 9:2	anthropologists	appearing 58:5
173:4 208:14	17:25 22:13	183:15	appendix 192:5
226:17,24	34:4 52:14	antibe 67:22,24	apples 293:12
257:11 264:8	54:20 55:6	anticipates	293:13
264:23 279:20	anne 159:11	40:14	applicable
286:6 293:14	annual 231:15	anybody 17:23	141:16
293:22	answer 6:4	18:3 48:17	application
amount26aug...	16:22 17:13	118:8,12	47:10 220:24
3:16	54:21 56:10	anymore 196:8	applied 237:9
analyses 41:16	65:9,14 69:2	196:25	applies 146:17
177:16	70:2 72:20	anytime 274:24	200:5 229:16
analysis 76:8	73:16,25 81:17	anyway 77:16	239:19,23
124:12 136:17	82:22 83:2	apart 38:20	240:12 241:8
143:22 184:10	106:19 107:6	app 72:23	241:11 257:15
199:7 215:18	123:22,23	163:12 166:10	262:21
275:24 276:24	126:5 128:25	166:20 167:3	apply 71:3
277:5 280:10	129:4 132:22	167:17,23	128:3 146:19
analyst 110:17	133:8 136:18	168:4,17	196:24 218:23
analytical	140:12 162:11	170:20,23	233:9 237:7,8
131:17 214:16	170:8 175:4,9	172:10,13	241:5,14

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[apply - assume]

Page 6

257:23 258:3,3	archival 76:3 133:12 134:10 147:15 179:18 208:19	arrests 76:20 arrival 225:6 arriving 114:11 article 32:11 49:20 64:11 107:23 142:13 142:16 148:19 155:25 157:2,6 157:8 164:17	asking 56:19 69:20 82:14 141:3 145:9 179:9 196:19 208:7 213:5 245:2 255:7 275:7 280:11 aspect 196:3 234:17 247:23 aspects 249:7 aspen 152:11 aspirations 161:23
applying 273:21	area 41:21 82:16 237:12 272:13	areas 113:6 195:6 230:5	area 41:21 82:16 237:12 272:13
appointment 97:15,21	argo 94:4	argue 137:12	argo 94:4
appraisals 96:22	argue 137:12	169:13 260:5	argue 137:12
appreciate 30:8 82:6 87:9 94:7 117:17 118:15 240:2 277:8	argues 242:17 276:24	188:24 189:6	argues 242:17 190:16 194:4
approach 74:3 147:20 199:5 206:23 213:24 214:8 251:13	arguing 267:11	196:23 231:5	arguing 267:11
approaches 130:7 234:15	argument	234:11,12	assault 1:7
appropriate 87:6 170:8 193:22 296:6	13:25 14:23	244:21 250:11	assault 1:7 252:22
appropriately 48:13	34:2 61:23,25	254:8	assemble
approval 47:20	127:18 193:10	articles 32:8	239:16
approved 44:6 115:9	197:6,16	42:22,23 125:7	assert 164:13
approximately 113:5	241:22 289:23	244:19 245:2	assess 246:8
apps 256:7	argumentation	artifact 91:14	assignments
april 33:14	242:25	91:24 92:20	256:8
arabic 110:22	argumentative	artifacts 92:20	assistant 96:7
arbitrary 200:20	153:20	210:9,12,20	209:14,18
architectural 195:4	arguments	asian 190:17	associate 98:4
	120:12 121:4	aside 160:19	associated
	180:17 181:5	asked 16:24	50:19
	arizona 209:3	17:13 34:4	assume 16:23
	arrangement	58:8 97:12	20:17 51:19
	7:13 95:12	122:23 123:13	53:2 65:20
	arrangements	123:15,19,22	92:4 267:17
	56:20 61:2,15	126:2 167:23	
	62:3	268:25 292:4	
		292:10	

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[assuming - basically]

Page 7

assuming 12:8 78:22	australian 190:17	114:4 136:24 138:20	246:11 252:7 252:15 256:3
assumption 51:10	author 13:9 157:11 194:8	aware 128:14 128:19 152:23	272:9,12 273:4 274:24 291:18
assumptions 104:23	authored 32:9 32:10	153:5 269:10 269:13,14,15	background 110:19 212:13 286:24
asymmetry 279:4	authors 13:8 145:3 157:10	awkward 240:8 b	backing 119:8
atlantic 1:21	157:21,21	b 3:9 39:17,25 107:21 145:25	backs 77:5
atomize 261:4 261:7	194:9	146:3 171:12 283:9 289:11	bad 81:3 246:13,14,22 247:5,8 265:23
attached 28:14 28:25 296:13 298:9	automatically 252:24	back 11:6,10 29:7 31:14	269:3 278:19
attachment 39:25	automize 260:23 261:4	41:12 49:17	balance 278:7 278:13
attachments 39:9	autonomy 113:18,20	52:12,25 55:13	band 250:23
attacked 81:14	174:21 270:11	58:8 81:21	bank 150:21
attempted 68:12 226:13	270:15,19,23	84:8,12 85:13	barber 133:16
attention 292:6	271:2,9,12,12	87:21 94:10	barrier 71:21 171:15
attorney 94:14 296:15	271:15,20	117:19,22	base 258:8
attorneys 7:3 7:15	272:2,19	124:8 139:11	based 51:11 65:13 78:5
audio 41:14 50:19 268:17	277:20 278:9	146:22 149:7	81:5 96:25
august 19:9 20:5,17,22 21:19 23:22 24:2,14 25:7 211:5,10	available 11:19 32:19 39:11	149:11 158:14 158:19,25	144:14 150:22 167:6 197:11
	ave 2:10	168:7,23 169:8	198:21 202:21
	average 135:17	170:17 171:7	203:12 251:14
	averaged 225:9	172:17 176:13	255:7 285:7
	avoid 270:8	194:2 196:14	basic 72:21 218:17
	award 105:18	196:23 199:3	basically 89:5
	awarded 102:9 102:15	202:5 204:6 218:2,7,9	210:20 212:19
	awards 100:7 101:2,8,19,23 102:6 103:9	230:13 233:3 234:11 239:2	216:5 255:25

Veritext Legal Solutions

800-567-8658

973-410-4098

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[basis - boss]

Page 8

basis 38:25 41:22 234:16	175:5 183:14 197:23 222:5	263:11 better 74:13 121:22 256:20 237:22 239:9	114:23 145:21 163:4 165:11 166:16 196:18 199:12 208:3
bathroom 239:17	224:13 229:16 241:11 249:9 251:11	266:2 285:17 beyond 138:18 197:22	199:12 208:3 210:22 245:22 250:8 253:16
beau 1:17 8:17 295:6,18	241:11 249:9 251:11	bias 190:22 bellwether 281:20	253:22 276:11 287:4
beg 15:23	believes 75:13	biased 65:25 66:6,12 273:3	black 150:23 242:22 243:3
beginning 1:16 67:2 111:15 134:7	bellwethers 90:5	biases 191:7 193:2 241:20	blitz 4:7
begins 84:10 158:17 218:4	ben 2:18 8:14	biddle 188:12	block 82:8
behalf 9:8 86:6	benefit 30:3	big 10:15 13:23	blocked 78:5
behave 66:18 67:17	72:16 74:19,23 75:14 249:10	152:11 180:24	78:22 79:24 80:6 81:17
behavior 67:19 101:16 111:14 176:8 265:6 278:4	benefits 70:11 70:17,23 73:13 76:24 77:22 171:8,11,12	197:16 233:24 235:8,17 237:4 279:17	board 42:6 43:6,8 44:6 46:14,17,25 47:12 49:19
behaviors 66:20 224:20 268:5 274:3	174:7 249:8,13 249:15	biggest 74:19 74:23	50:13 105:19 281:17
belabor 157:6	benefitting 248:20	billed 21:16	boards 127:24
belief 148:9	berkman 98:5	billing 35:19	bodies 243:3
believe 12:12 37:24 39:19 40:11 62:20 66:6 72:15	98:10	36:13	body 39:16 208:17
74:19 87:17 113:3 145:8 146:22 147:21 150:13 168:14	berkover 2:4 9:4	bills 35:19	boilerplate 260:9
168:22 172:14 174:14,14,25	best 16:9 17:6 75:14 101:2,7 109:19 124:17 131:10 151:3 207:10,10 232:15,17,17 237:18 242:15	binary 69:15 175:23,24 176:3	book 105:12 150:24 151:3
		biometrics 245:17	books 174:2
		birthday 294:5 294:7	boss 173:7 174:9,13,15
		bit 71:19 72:10 72:13 80:12	175:2,6 271:2

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[bottom - cameron]

Page 9

bottom 46:12 60:11 143:16 206:2 207:11	bringing 127:17 226:9 229:4	business 109:18 117:2 237:16 267:9	122:22 154:21 266:12
bouncing 31:14	brings 149:15	businesses 71:10	cameras 245:16 268:17
bound 149:4	260:9	buy 221:9	cameron 1:1,13 2:1 3:1,5,13,20 4:1,4,7,13,22
boundary 289:14	british 13:22	c	5:1 6:1 7:1 8:1 8:9 9:1,11,22
bowling 173:25	broad 48:9 50:7 135:23	c 2:2 35:11 78:3 85:15 145:25	9:24 10:1 11:1 12:1 13:1 14:1 15:1 16:1 17:1 18:1 19:1 20:1
box 52:3	273:11 275:5	268:4 295:2,2	21:1 22:1 23:1
boxes 214:25	broader 76:6	cage 244:5,14 244:22 245:4	24:1,24 25:1
braking 225:4 246:4	199:8 242:4,10 293:17	calarco 105:14	26:1,3 27:1
branch 183:23	broccoli 271:18	calculated 225:10	28:1 29:1 30:1
branches 183:25	broken 80:8	calculations 52:22	31:1,2 32:1
brazil 214:2	brought 85:25 204:10	california 1:3 8:12 209:10,12	33:1 34:1 35:1
break 17:11,14 54:15 83:23 156:4 158:6 173:22 212:9 217:13	brown 242:22 243:3	call 78:16 120:11 221:10 244:4,13 267:2	36:1 37:1 38:1 39:1 40:1 41:1 42:1 43:1 44:1 45:1 46:1 47:1
breakdown 21:15	brussel 271:19	called 30:23 39:18 54:22	48:1 49:1 50:1
breakdowns 279:14	buckets 206:3	63:7 70:4 97:6	51:1 52:1 53:1
breaking 100:6	build 132:9	105:14 108:2	54:1 55:1 56:1
breaks 17:11 17:16 132:6	building 127:18	121:2 151:19	57:1 58:1 59:1
breathed 293:7	built 276:23	184:3,23 188:3	60:1 61:1 62:1
brief 83:23	bulk 281:22,22	215:17 227:3	63:1 64:1 65:1
briefly 55:17 225:22	bunch 51:24 138:19	228:20 259:21	66:1 67:1 68:1
briefs 99:8	burawoy 137:17	260:9 270:21	69:1 70:1 71:1
	burroway 276:19	calls 62:11 107:2 118:19	72:1 73:1 74:1 75:1 76:1 77:1 78:1 79:1 80:1

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[cameron - carefully]

Page 10

81:1 82:1 83:1	154:1 155:1	222:1 223:1	288:1,4 289:1
84:1,13 85:1	156:1 157:1	224:1 225:1	289:13 290:1
86:1 87:1 88:1	158:1,19 159:1	226:1 227:1	290:13 291:1,5
89:1 90:1 91:1	160:1 161:1	228:1 229:1	291:25 292:1
92:1 93:1 94:1	162:1 163:1	230:1 231:1	293:1 294:1,18
95:1 96:1 97:1	164:1 165:1	232:1 233:1	295:1,7 296:1
98:1 99:1	166:1 167:1	234:1 235:1	297:1 298:1
100:1 101:1	168:1 169:1	236:1 237:1	cameroninvo...
102:1 103:1	170:1 171:1	238:1 239:1	3:15
104:1 105:1	172:1 173:1	240:1 241:1	cameroninvo...
106:1 107:1	174:1 175:1	242:1 243:1	4:11
108:1 109:1	176:1 177:1	244:1 245:1	cams 268:20
110:1 111:1	178:1 179:1	246:1 247:1	269:4,13,18
112:1 113:1	180:1 181:1	248:1 249:1	capabilities
114:1 115:1	182:1 183:1	250:1,12,22	161:21
116:1 117:1	184:1 185:1	251:1 252:1	capital 4:21
118:1 119:1	186:1 187:1	253:1 254:1	79:4 173:20
120:1 121:1	188:1 189:1	255:1 256:1	cappelli 237:13
122:1 123:1	190:1 191:1	257:1 258:1	capture 228:16
124:1 125:1	192:1 193:1	259:1 260:1	car 34:10 78:7
126:1 127:1	194:1 195:1	261:1 262:1	79:18 80:8,9
128:1 129:1	196:1 197:1	263:1 264:1,10	80:18 151:9
130:1 131:1	198:1 199:1	265:1,18 266:1	204:25 205:3
132:1 133:1	200:1 201:1	267:1 268:1	210:18 221:11
134:1 135:1	202:1 203:1,25	269:1 270:1	238:18,19
136:1 137:1	204:1 205:1,25	271:1 272:1	268:21
138:1 139:1	206:1 207:1,12	273:1 274:1	card 276:6
140:1 141:1	208:1 209:1	275:1 276:1	cards 71:3
142:1 143:1	210:1 211:1	277:1 278:1	care 72:7
144:1 145:1	212:1 213:1	279:1 280:1	171:24
146:1 147:1	214:1 215:1	281:1 282:1	career 109:12
148:1 149:1	216:1 217:1	283:1 284:1	careful 95:10
150:1 151:1	218:1,7 219:1	285:1 286:1	carefully
152:1 153:1	220:1 221:1	287:1,17,17	214:15 296:5

Veritext Legal Solutions

800-567-8658

973-410-4098

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[cares - choosing]

Page 11

cares 135:17,18	cases 8:10 35:3	certification	characterizati...
cargo 288:10	55:9,21 56:3,4	216:21	45:7
carolina 209:6	56:6 85:20,24	certify 295:7	characterize
carrots 274:21	86:7,11 87:15	298:4	132:16
274:22	87:18 88:6,12	cetera 149:3	charged 224:16
cars 210:16	88:21 89:12,17	challenge	224:18 259:23
case 1:6 19:13	89:24 90:15	181:23	charmaz
21:6 23:16,19	93:11 128:21	challenges	188:11
25:10 34:18	227:19,23	77:23 78:2	check 26:10
37:16 52:11	228:2 250:16	135:22 171:9	225:21
53:10 54:19	281:20	chan 67:23	checking 26:13
55:24 88:7	cash 210:17,18	138:24	71:2
89:8,18 90:9	cast 108:4	chance 40:6	checks 116:23
90:19,19 92:5	catch 85:8	227:21 260:11	cherry 132:13
92:21,24,25	categories	change 12:20	chicago 259:6,6
93:4,14 94:11	214:16 215:25	28:14 109:12	259:8
94:12,19,22,25	289:2	145:19 155:19	child 72:7
95:3,5,21,23	category 53:3	179:13 192:14	171:24 271:18
97:2 159:5,9	216:7 251:7	192:15 196:5	chinyere 2:16
162:7 198:23	289:4	197:7 203:11	choice 151:12
213:4,6,17	causes 79:23	260:10 297:5,8	160:20 164:25
214:4,9 217:6	caveat 82:6	297:11,14,16	165:21,24
225:16 226:14	170:14	297:19,22	166:5,22,24
227:17 238:23	celebrate	changed 90:25	167:17 168:3
252:21 253:11	230:15	113:10 155:14	170:19 172:20
262:8 265:16	center 98:5	192:10 196:25	256:23 257:3
269:16,17	centered 184:6	197:3,9,15	270:22 271:20
279:15 284:15	199:6	206:22 260:13	277:19,23
285:3,11,14,15	certain 21:21	288:22	choices 165:8
285:17,18,22	47:14 118:4	changes 15:21	170:22
285:25 287:2	119:9 237:22	244:8 249:19	choose 271:21
289:18 290:7	242:19 256:18	296:12 298:8	choosing
292:13,18	278:4	changing	166:22 168:3
293:20,23		206:15	277:13

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[chops - coming]

Page 12

chops 126:12	citing 77:6	clear 51:23	collect 43:19
chose 160:18	127:16 188:11	63:24 87:3	192:20 193:4
chosen 198:3	285:22 287:10	113:13 134:22	194:19 204:5
christian	287:22,23	135:2 157:16	204:10 213:20
226:18	city 76:19	167:14 279:3	265:5
chunk 207:13	98:24 222:18	clients 71:10	collected 197:4
cia 93:15	237:24 260:23	218:19	197:20 204:2
circumstances	261:8	close 57:21	209:19 255:8
194:23	claim 153:16	77:20 156:7	collecting
citation 13:14	claims 68:22	162:14	44:20 133:10
14:9,13 15:9	81:23 120:21	closed 262:13	134:10 204:13
77:13	127:12 135:25	263:15	206:16 272:11
citations 12:19	136:12 137:3	closely 263:22	college 174:2
12:23 14:10	137:20,23	closer 188:13	colleges 76:17
39:16 51:12	199:8 219:25	cluttered 229:7	colloquial
100:8 101:20	clarification	coach 265:25	160:3
101:25 102:4	30:8	coaching	column 174:5
284:19,23	clarified 217:8	187:15,18	come 29:7,14
287:2	clarify 14:12	coauthor	58:4,8 117:19
cite 15:18	clarifying	142:17 216:24	128:20,23
105:13 139:8	50:25	coauthors	129:17 137:15
183:12 188:10	class 97:7,10	244:22	174:19 179:22
203:25 214:9	110:2 135:8	code 223:18,24	180:14,16
250:10 290:15	138:9 226:9	224:2,4,7	211:20 247:16
cited 13:12	classes 96:14	240:20 241:19	265:22 284:15
15:3 33:23,24	96:24 97:20,22	coding 214:16	288:14,23
34:18 39:9,25	111:2	214:21 215:10	comes 116:12
79:22 100:5	classification	215:17,20	135:25 197:24
126:19 185:9	61:21 87:22	216:5 272:13	215:4 258:9
287:20	88:2 115:5,24	289:3	274:11
cites 289:17	classified	coercion 260:6	comfortable
cities 192:23,24	115:20 233:12	coercive 260:15	201:22 219:2
237:22 238:6,7	233:16 237:8	colleague 58:6	coming 72:11
			107:24 184:10

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[coming - conclusion]

Page 13

226:2 243:6	115:4,6,14	compiled 52:16	con 221:20
267:21	116:3,24 117:4	complaint 250:3,4,25	concept 108:2
comment 83:15	117:5 171:17	complaints 78:6,14 79:12	140:8 146:16
105:2	212:3 218:17	79:23 81:5	147:13 159:4,9
comments 225:24	231:14 249:25	251:14	160:23 166:5
	260:22 266:15	complete 35:13	175:23 200:5
commission 298:19	270:2	260:8,21	229:15 234:20
committee 47:13 57:7	company 65:17	279:10 280:12	concepts 130:7
59:2 60:13	76:18 78:16	43:22 45:18	233:24
77:18	94:17 151:12	55:20 83:10	conceptual
common 44:7	152:5,6 179:19	107:3 125:15	211:16
149:24 159:13	195:18 219:2	135:7 238:17	conceptualiz...
159:15 160:11	220:2,12,18,21	completed	69:13
160:14,14	226:21 241:12	262:14	conceptually
179:16 208:2	259:14 286:20	completely	239:3 274:23
258:22 259:14	comparatively	229:21	concern 226:25
commonly 190:9 192:12	263:19	completing	252:6
commonwealth 1:18 295:3	compare	91:19	concerned
communicate 256:9	200:21 259:9	complex 72:19	81:19 258:5
communities 143:22 262:16	compared	72:25 261:15	concerning
262:25	82:10 100:8,15	compliance	37:2 50:17
community 70:6 110:17	compares	65:16	51:5
companies 71:23 76:13	117:10	complicated	concerns 81:24
79:6 86:13	comparing	277:2	concierge 2:17
91:21,22 92:5	76:2,3,3	components	concluded
92:15,20 94:13	118:14 200:10	202:17 243:22	294:21
	264:12	283:16	concluding
	comparison	compositions	163:8
	115:15 141:2	139:23	conclusion
	263:9	computer	62:11 107:2
	compete 256:8	18:10 108:20	118:19 122:22
	competition	110:20 224:4,7	137:16 143:12
	273:22	264:18 295:11	

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[conclusion - control]

Page 14

154:21	connected	construct	contingent
conclusions	35:20 77:18	189:20,22	185:20
14:6 81:18	connection	190:13	continue 70:16
124:12 129:10	51:17 269:11	constructed	77:9 111:23
179:8,23	connections	149:6	112:15,18,21
180:15 181:10	215:19	constructing	143:20 211:21
201:11,23	connects 219:8	189:14	287:14
202:21 213:22	connotation	construction	continued
condense	64:16	148:17 178:9	23:22
212:17	conroy 2:3 9:3	187:2 189:9	continuing
conditions	consent 7:13	240:13,14,24	149:8 260:21
268:11,11	130:15,16	constructs	contract 37:15
289:14	164:22	104:24	contractor 61:2
conduct 126:16	consenting	consulting	61:15
conducted	260:7	36:25 56:13,15	contractors
41:17 207:19	consequences	56:21	61:9,24 115:7
210:4 213:5	70:5	consume	115:19,21
conference	consider	126:17	233:10,13,16
34:7	104:18 191:11	consumer	237:9
conferences	235:25 238:21	284:10	contracts 36:25
99:11	considered	contact 75:25	37:13
confident	39:7,18 40:9	contained	contradiction
270:21 286:4	40:24 41:4	12:17 53:20	172:5
confidentiality	51:20 126:19	content 184:9	contrast 115:15
43:17 48:2,5	138:17	289:3	contribute
56:25 57:2	considering	contested 220:5	174:5 245:11
95:12	199:7	context 76:2	contributing
confine 270:21	consist 22:6	140:5 171:5	186:25
confirm 204:11	205:24	187:24 190:15	contribution
confirms	constantly 24:9	210:13 220:8	102:23 103:24
279:15	constraints	234:6	control 41:23
confused 202:9	73:5 172:15	contexts 139:22	44:17 62:23
connect 218:18	270:12	145:16 146:9	63:7,13,16,25
248:10,21		267:7	64:4,14,20

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[control - correct]

Page 15

66:16,19 67:3	236:23,25	conversational	149:19 150:2,3
67:7,11,18	237:3,7 238:22		150:6 152:25
68:2,13,23	239:4,14,15		155:11 157:7
69:13,14,21	243:24 244:4,7		157:17 159:18
88:3,13,22	244:13 245:12	conversations	159:24 160:13
89:12,14 95:7	246:22 247:10		161:23,24
113:18,20	248:13,17		163:2,17,18
128:22 129:8	249:4 256:5		164:3,4,7
129:13,21	258:11,14	copy	165:15 169:17
135:15 137:13	259:13,19		169:20 170:3
138:25 148:21	264:4,5 266:13		171:24,25
159:4,9,12,15	267:5,12		172:12 175:24
160:3,10,12,17	268:16 269:6,9	core	176:20 177:7,8
161:5,14,20	270:4 271:7,16		181:14 183:9
162:6,6 163:11	271:23 273:20	corporate	183:10 185:25
163:13,17,21	274:11,16,19		187:5 194:25
163:23 164:6,9	274:20,24	correct	198:24 199:11
164:12 165:13	275:17,19		201:8 205:15
165:14,16,19	276:10 277:12		206:13 208:24
166:9 167:12	277:21 278:8		208:25 209:16
169:9,12	278:21,22		209:17 210:11
170:24 172:23	279:2,21,25		212:15,19
173:4 175:18	280:2,13		213:2,11
175:22 176:10	282:24 283:10		214:18,19
191:21 197:17	controlled		218:22 220:24
219:18,24	136:15 192:17		222:14,20
221:6 231:20	235:9 274:5,9		233:7 237:21
232:6 233:3,8	controlling		238:3 239:6,19
233:17,20	266:16 275:10		241:4 242:9
234:17,20	conversation		244:10,11
235:2,4,5,9,10	52:13 137:10		245:24 246:3,7
235:11,14,15	200:13 273:4		246:10 248:14
235:22 236:3	277:17		248:22 249:8
236:13,17,21			249:23 250:5,9

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[correct - customers]

Page 16

251:10 256:18	263:16	creates 104:4	cultures 110:23
260:25 261:2,9	courses 96:18	276:9	curated 240:22
261:10,12	98:13 124:18	creating 103:17	current 15:20
262:19 263:2,3	126:4	189:3 190:2,2	26:24 27:3,19
264:5,6 265:6	court 1:2 2:5	214:16 215:9	31:19 108:18
265:7 268:8	7:5 8:11,16	215:24 220:4	109:2 211:13
274:7 283:8,12	16:10,18 35:5	248:21 271:8	212:13
283:17,18,22	35:7 106:24	creation 182:15	currently 15:24
284:3 285:23	128:16 129:10	credit 71:3	96:7
285:24 286:14	201:15 294:10	73:12	curriculum
298:5	296:19	creek 260:10	26:25
corrections	courtesy 97:15	criteria 244:7,9	customer 78:6
296:5,7 298:8	97:20	critical 125:11	78:7,14 79:12
correctly 51:14	courts 106:16	152:3 153:6,7	79:23 80:14
91:16 115:11	cousin 151:10	154:3 184:6	81:12,13,14
295:10	cover 55:24	criticized 13:15	198:3 225:7
cory 228:23	96:17,20	13:17 15:2	250:3,24
counsel 7:12,19	131:12 207:13	critique 13:10	253:18 261:23
8:9,18,23	covered 77:22	13:19 154:25	264:5 265:8,13
17:24 21:6	83:9 288:2	critiques	265:21 266:4
35:5 40:22	290:19	127:11	267:8 276:4
56:18 84:18	covers 79:6	crucial 194:19	290:14
292:4 295:12	covid 65:21	231:11	customers 70:5
counter 110:9	craft 126:9,10	crystallization	70:12,18 80:12
counts 148:11	crafting 106:22	280:20	80:12 122:3
county 295:4,6	crb 1:7	cs7737764 1:25	218:19 221:22
couple 31:10	cream 230:15	cultural 4:21	224:16,18
39:22 92:3	create 102:20	74:8 139:22	225:8 228:15
133:21 245:15	103:19 181:13	216:22 236:19	251:18 256:9
250:12 286:11	181:20 191:8	236:20,21	265:4 266:11
292:2	220:2 248:9	242:5,10	266:17,18,25
course 17:3	293:15	270:24	267:4,13 268:6
76:16 96:13,20	created 43:14	culture 110:23	282:25
97:5,6 225:7	145:20 275:9		

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[cut - degrade]

Page 17

cut 168:16	181:9 184:9,10	298:16	186:14
cv 3:23 27:2,17	190:19 192:20	days 30:4	deemed 252:23
27:19 28:12,14	192:22 193:5	296:16	296:18
28:23 29:17	194:19 195:17	dc 2:10	deep 62:21 88:7
31:20 111:5	197:5,19,25	deactivated	201:3
cycle 218:13	204:2,4,5,10,13	78:4 81:4	deeply 15:16
d	206:16 208:9	254:8,21 255:4	258:6
d 3:2 24:24	208:20 209:20	255:9 266:9	defendant
107:21	210:3,9 211:17	deactivation	86:20 94:15
d.c. 41:21	213:21,21,25	251:18 253:23	defendant's
131:25	214:4 215:4,11	254:6,10	30:25 39:5,12
dance 278:7,12	216:6 226:21	290:17	defendants
278:14	226:23 227:3	deal 64:8	3:18 9:9
darker 66:10	240:22 254:22	decay 216:22	define 87:8
dash 268:20	255:8,17,18	228:20 230:20	161:7,13 162:5
269:3,13,18	259:11 265:5	231:2,7,8,24	164:23 166:17
data 13:23 14:2	272:11 273:2	232:6	defined 129:8
14:6,18,25	281:19 285:16	deceleration	129:14 159:5
15:2 43:21,23	285:17 286:2,7	225:4	161:20
44:2,21 45:3	288:10 289:3	decide 52:9	defining 125:9
45:15,23 48:9	289:18 290:7	75:12 203:17	127:17
48:15 70:23	292:25	decided 109:12	definite 278:13
78:20 98:23	dataset 148:18	200:13	definitely 241:7
106:5 108:14	180:3,19	decision 78:9	248:17 249:16
120:20 132:9	datasets 210:7	223:20,25	284:13
133:10,12,19	date 26:25 27:3	240:25	definition
134:10,12,12	29:17 31:19	deck 147:2	69:21 161:4,25
137:21 147:11	32:12 296:10	declarations	162:2,6 169:9
147:11,18	298:12	38:11	178:18 188:15
148:11 149:2	dated 19:8	decline 229:25	233:6
177:18,21,21	33:14 85:6	declining	definitions 62:8
179:14,19	day 28:24	167:22	238:22
180:4,7,18	112:22 127:23	deductive	degrade 228:19
	273:7 295:15	185:22 186:7	230:17

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[degrades - develop]

Page 18

degrades 229:8	departure	295:7,11 296:4	280:23
degree 110:10	185:22 186:7	296:13,17,18	descriptions
124:16 125:18	depend 123:2	depositions	176:16,17
129:2	depended	40:5,16 51:24	descriptive
degrees 108:20	257:21	52:4 227:12,13	65:3
deidentified	dependence	227:18	design 96:21,23
44:15,18 45:12	257:8	depth 41:16	193:24 196:4
45:14 48:5,14	dependent	99:24 144:11	designed
48:16,19	258:13,16	152:15 177:5	232:10 240:15
deidentify	262:14 280:8	265:19 292:20	274:12 276:8
45:11	depending	derivation	276:13,17,21
deidentifying	120:2 138:15	185:21	designers
48:9	165:25 179:20	derived 275:15	193:20,25
delete 43:20	275:23 277:3	describe 87:14	designs 221:5
deleted 122:17	depends 123:21	91:18 123:14	destination
delivery 97:11	131:15 164:18	134:4 150:5	198:4
demand 159:17	166:14,16	165:15 176:5	detail 36:14
159:23 218:12	193:9 201:12	192:7,12	122:10 239:14
218:17,25	201:17	212:13 278:6	detailed 239:5
220:21 244:5	depicting 190:2	described	239:8,15
246:23 256:7	deponent 295:8	49:17 62:8	283:10
256:12 258:19	295:10 298:2	79:7 121:2	details 49:7
264:3 265:2,9	deposed 16:3	182:8 213:16	56:19 197:15
265:12,17	56:8	216:2 229:15	251:5
266:15 267:14	depositing	292:19	detecting 66:10
268:5,10,14	296:15	describes	determine
270:2 283:6	deposition 1:12	151:11 206:2	45:25 59:20
democratic	3:19 6:2 7:4,6	207:23 240:13	200:17 268:15
57:6	7:7 8:8 18:14	describing 96:5	determines
denials 168:7	20:10 25:14	145:9 165:13	224:9
denise 9:22	26:2 27:16	191:9	devalue 243:3
department	31:2 35:7,12	description	develop 52:11
97:24 98:2	40:3 85:17	3:11 4:2 5:2	103:20 153:11
	95:16 294:21	6:9 245:4	180:18 199:8

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[developing - distinction]

Page 19

developing	136:11 137:9	dillahunt	4:22
105:14 144:2	138:14 139:22	dillard	1:17
development	140:9 141:24		8:17 295:6,18
103:13 173:21	145:21 148:5	dimensions	
deviant	148:23 154:2		64:6 105:16
deviating	164:9,17 165:6		239:4
261:18	165:9,22,25	dinner	271:19
diagrams	169:18 174:24	direct	64:7
diamond	176:7 178:24		153:10 176:7
198:12	179:7,18,19,21		242:13 292:5
diaries	179:23 180:6	directed	262:3
dies	180:17 181:3,5	direction	6:4
difference	181:9 184:7		50:17 278:4
28:22 62:18,21	186:13 189:24	directly	120:10
117:6 207:24	195:17 198:17		121:8 215:4
264:17	206:2,6 207:22		266:4
differences	208:16 210:17	disagree	167:3
62:7,22 63:3	216:3 232:11		172:2 174:12
200:17,22	234:23 235:3		179:10 276:19
different	235:11 236:8		282:12
14:6,17,18,20	262:10 267:11	disagreeing	
14:21 34:10	270:18 276:11		119:8
36:14 44:19	280:10 283:16	disagreement	
49:2 57:20	differently 82:8		150:10 167:7
60:16 61:19	129:9,14	discipline	
62:24 69:12	179:18 219:6		157:10
76:2,8 86:25	220:6 248:19	disciplines	
89:6 105:16,24	differs 203:12		62:24 99:19
108:13 113:22	difficult 196:3		129:9,15 149:5
114:4,5 116:25	254:5		120:7
127:11,20	digital 134:12	disclose	95:10
129:9,15	134:12 220:14	disclosed	95:13
133:13,20	220:23	disclosure	
135:4,9 136:2			34:19 35:5

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[distinctions - dr]

Page 20

distinctions	documentation	5:1 6:1 7:1 8:1	102:1 103:1
146:4	47:19	9:1,11,24 10:1	104:1 105:1
distinguish	documents 6:8	11:1 12:1 13:1	106:1 107:1
115:3	22:12,21,25	14:1 15:1 16:1	108:1 109:1
distinguished	23:2,4,6,7,14	17:1 18:1 19:1	110:1 111:1
116:9	31:15,24 32:16	20:1 21:1 22:1	112:1 113:1
distinguishes	38:13,19,24	23:1 24:1 25:1	114:1 115:1
116:3	39:4,6,10,23	26:1,2 27:1	116:1 117:1
district 1:2,3	40:2 41:13	28:1 29:1 30:1	118:1 119:1
8:11,12	49:20 51:16,24	31:1 32:1 33:1	120:1 121:1
division 1:4	53:16 173:2	34:1 35:1 36:1	122:1 123:1
8:13	198:22 214:9	37:1 38:1 39:1	124:1 125:1
doctoral	222:6 224:10	40:1 41:1 42:1	126:1 127:1
124:18 125:18	250:15 253:7	43:1 44:1 45:1	128:1 129:1
126:3 138:9	253:10 262:7	46:1 47:1 48:1	130:1 131:1
doctorow's	284:15,20	49:1 50:1 51:1	132:1 133:1
228:23	285:7,11,18	52:1 53:1 54:1	134:1 135:1
document	286:8 290:5,8	55:1 56:1 57:1	136:1 137:1
11:14 18:20	292:25	58:1 59:1 60:1	138:1 139:1
19:18,19,22	doing 27:7	61:1 62:1 63:1	140:1 141:1
25:17 26:6,14	49:13 109:9	64:1 65:1 66:1	142:1 143:1
26:22 27:10	127:25 135:14	67:1 68:1 69:1	144:1 145:1
30:15 31:3,9	150:17 168:12	70:1 71:1 72:1	146:1 147:1
32:24 33:11	214:5 261:22	73:1 74:1 75:1	148:1 149:1
46:24 47:5	263:20 264:17	76:1 77:1 78:1	150:1 151:1
54:12 59:7	272:12 280:23	79:1 80:1 81:1	152:1 153:1
60:10 77:21	296:9	82:1 83:1 84:1	154:1 155:1
84:22 114:13	doordash	84:13 85:1	156:1 157:1
141:24 142:6	211:19	86:1 87:1 88:1	158:1,19 159:1
156:5,7,13	dots 193:17	89:1 90:1 91:1	160:1 161:1
162:17 184:18	downplay	92:1 93:1 94:1	162:1 163:1
187:20 206:22	220:11,15	95:1 96:1 97:1	164:1 165:1
254:13,23	dr 1:1,13 2:1	98:1 99:1	166:1 167:1
	3:1,5,20 4:1	100:1 101:1	168:1 169:1

Veritext Legal Solutions

800-567-8658

973-410-4098

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[dr - drivers]

Page 21

170:1 171:1	238:1 239:1	drafting 23:19 214:18	192:23 195:24 198:2 202:22
172:1 173:1	240:1 241:1	draw 110:18 181:9 201:11	204:21 207:6 222:4,7 230:9
174:1 175:1	242:1 243:1	213:21 277:4	238:10 250:23
176:1 177:1	244:1 245:1	284:24	251:2 252:14 281:5
178:1 179:1	246:1 247:1	drawback 70:17	driver's 250:2
180:1 181:1	248:1 249:1	drawbacks 70:11	drivers 41:18 42:13 44:14,23
182:1 183:1	250:1 251:1	drawing 100:24 127:14 235:18 243:15	61:4,8 65:19 70:24 71:8,23
184:1 185:1	252:1 253:1	243:16	72:4 73:7,13 73:14 76:13,24
186:1 187:1	254:1 255:1	drawings 52:22	78:3,5,23
188:1 189:1	256:1 257:1	draws 99:21	79:22 80:17
190:1 191:1	258:1 259:1	177:2	81:20 111:19
192:1 193:1	260:1 261:1	drew 110:21,22	112:19,22,24
194:1 195:1	262:1 263:1	drivable 80:10	113:6,8 115:6
196:1 197:1	264:1 265:1	80:10	115:7,8 117:11
198:1 199:1	266:1 267:1	drive 72:23	118:14 136:14
200:1 201:1	268:1 269:1	222:24 230:14	137:3 160:17
202:1 203:1	270:1 271:1	259:12 278:3	163:10,13,22
204:1 205:1	272:1 273:1	289:13	164:6,12 165:9
206:1 207:1	274:1 275:1	driver 33:15	165:14,24
208:1 209:1	276:1 277:1	41:20 68:22,22	166:9 167:16
210:1 211:1	278:1 279:1	69:4 74:18,20	170:19 171:17
212:1 213:1	280:1 281:1	74:24 75:12,12	173:7 174:6,13
214:1 215:1	282:1 283:1	75:15 78:8,20	174:14 175:18
216:1 217:1	284:1 285:1	79:18 80:3,15	179:17 201:23
218:1,7 219:1	286:1 287:1	81:13,14 91:18	204:25 205:19
220:1 221:1	288:1 289:1	draft 288:21	209:3,6,11
222:1 223:1	290:1 291:1,25	113:2 132:18	210:8 221:15
224:1 225:1	292:1 293:1	174:7 178:22	222:2,12,16,23
226:1 227:1	294:1,18 295:1	178:24 179:16	
228:1 229:1	295:7 296:1		
230:1 231:1	297:1 298:1		
232:1 233:1			
234:1 235:1	294:13		
236:1 237:1			

Veritext Legal Solutions

800-567-8658

973-410-4098

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[drivers - elder]

Page 22

223:3,9,12	206:10 208:18	157:8 169:24	economics
224:9,14	209:23 210:2	176:19 179:5	219:5
225:12 229:23	210:15 222:14	181:12 182:8	economies
229:25 230:8	223:11 230:10	189:13 201:6	155:23
230:10,13	232:11 249:16	208:22 227:12	economy 23:12
231:12,20	269:12 288:11	233:5 236:2	42:24 74:8
232:10 233:15	293:6	250:8,18 251:8	97:2 98:12
236:13 237:16	drop 49:6	252:2 257:5	103:3 108:5
237:20 238:16	76:18	272:9 273:4	150:16 155:21
245:25 246:14	dropped 76:20	274:18 279:6	155:24 159:17
247:20,25	80:13	280:7	159:24 160:8
248:5,9,14,21	drove 132:5	early 155:13	211:22 220:2
249:2,8,10,13	209:22 292:21	188:8 228:11	241:11 265:9
249:16 251:8	drunk 76:14,19	288:21 289:4	265:12 267:14
251:13 252:7	78:8 79:19	earn 71:24	271:5
252:24 255:3,9	dubal 107:13	171:18 257:11	edit 243:5
255:25 256:22	107:21 118:13	289:12	edited 108:12
256:23 257:7	242:14 243:15	earners 254:7	243:10
257:16 260:23	dubious 250:24	254:17	editorial
260:25 261:7,9	due 250:24	earnings 72:6	127:24
261:11 262:9	duis 76:18	easier 16:19	education
262:24 263:17	duly 9:12 295:8	east 109:11	111:3
264:10 269:18	dynamic	110:12,15	effective
270:25 272:2	278:15	eat 293:7	240:25
279:8,11,17,20	e	eating 271:21	effects 258:24
281:9,12,17,21	e 2:2,2,16,16	echoed 254:6	eight 101:7
287:12 288:3,7	3:2,9 221:20	economic	282:16
driving 33:15	295:2,2 297:3	218:20 219:9	either 18:9 29:4
65:19 70:23	e.g. 187:2,4	249:22 257:8	39:24 64:15
73:10 76:15,20	195:23 218:19	279:13	93:14 135:12
111:18 112:16	262:14 273:22	economically	227:15 271:21
132:3 170:2	earlier 54:4,25	257:20 258:12	294:4
171:13 204:17	96:4 140:13	258:15 280:8	elder 72:7
205:6,6,14			

Veritext Legal Solutions

800-567-8658

973-410-4098

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[elderly - ethnographer]

Page 23

elderly 171:24	empirical	273:11	entirely 14:22
electrical	134:23 197:15	ends 289:7	168:9 187:23
108:20,25	211:17 243:18	engage 243:18	238:5 245:7
110:19	264:22	277:13	267:20
element 275:8	empirically	engaged 216:15	entitled 33:14
275:11	185:24 186:8	engagement	entity 37:3
elements	231:7 289:17	152:9 164:23	entry 71:22
239:15 273:21	employee	engaging	171:16
276:3	225:22	214:17	environment
ellis 2:8 9:7	employees	engineering	203:11
else's 118:12	40:18 61:16	108:20,21,25	environments
elucidating	62:2 226:8	109:9 110:20	181:7
186:24	227:8,18,25	enjoy 109:20	equally 39:5
email 54:7,9	233:9,12 237:8	109:20 274:10	equals 166:19
mailed 26:8	employment	277:14	equivalent 90:4
emails 26:11,13	71:25 98:14,16	enjoyable	era 65:21
246:8 247:16	171:19 175:11	274:2	112:12
247:19	enactment	enshitification	errata 296:7,9
embedded	69:16	228:21	296:12,15
137:14 237:3	encoded 241:21	ensuring 274:3	298:9
243:8 245:16	encounter	entail 97:21	especially
embodied	130:6 268:12	147:9	230:9
242:11	268:13	entered 111:9	esq 2:4,4,9,9
embody 242:4	encounters	entering 8:24	essay 108:10
emergement	268:17	enterprises	essence 49:21
293:16	encourage	96:15	165:18
emerging 96:14	256:20,21	enters 76:18	essentially
103:6 181:25	273:23	entice 232:10	60:16
293:5	encouragement	274:13	estimate 20:7
emphasis	262:2	enticing 271:6	et 149:2 193:16
103:12	encourages	entire 21:18	ethical 227:10
emphasizes	256:22	45:22 111:11	ethics 130:18
99:24 171:22	ended 109:17	187:20 239:24	ethnographer
177:5	210:25 225:23	285:9	73:2 74:4,16

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[ethnographer - experiences]

Page 24

75:7,25 109:4 109:5 178:20 199:5 ethnography 75:11 143:21 208:2 ethological 203:8 ethos 155:24 evaluate 74:22 106:8 126:24 127:7,21 224:19 272:5,6 evaluated 129:13 evaluating 105:21 events 152:11 201:5 everyone's 30:3 evidence 120:20 125:10 127:19 154:7 250:14 293:15 evident 100:7 153:7 evolve 155:18 evolved 72:10 exact 138:21 139:3,6 188:19 exactly 15:6 21:4 25:5 34:22 42:16 50:11 65:22	79:9 92:8 142:18 146:4,9 183:24 198:25 200:2 205:16 213:7 214:12 246:24,24 259:20 270:13 3:4 9:15 291:22 examine 144:6 234:9 examined 9:13 example 81:9 121:23 123:10 131:15 132:4 134:24 135:15 136:16 139:4 145:19 159:3 195:15 198:8 229:5 238:18 239:12,15,18 243:4,12 247:15 250:20 250:22 256:7 264:9 271:17 277:13 examples 79:17 79:20 80:20,25 83:9 113:15 132:13 164:25 189:24 237:4 250:18	except 7:20 298:7 exchange 169:11 218:20 219:9 excited 16:15 16:16 280:19 excused 294:19 executed 206:10 executive 96:13 exercise 163:13 163:21 176:10 216:11 244:4 246:23 264:3 278:8 282:23 exercised 66:17 67:4,8 280:4 exercising 277:11 exert 236:13 exerting 68:13 68:23 248:13 248:17 271:22 exhibit 3:12,15 3:18,22 4:3,7,9 4:11,13,16,20 5:3,6 10:7 11:12,16 12:11 18:17,22,25 19:4 25:15,19 27:7,8,12 30:13,17 33:2 33:7 34:25	35:11,12 39:17 53:8 55:14 59:5,9,12 84:19,24 85:15 85:16 114:10 114:15 142:4,8 156:15,18 162:15,19,22 184:15,20 194:3 234:13 exhibits 156:22 exist 44:15 274:24 275:17 existing 102:22 181:23 exit 168:4 expect 39:24 127:3 expected 154:13 expense 35:20 expenses 222:23 experience 127:15 137:4 154:14 199:7 205:7 222:22 223:3 254:6 255:2 290:4 293:18 experienced 223:9 254:19 experiences 74:5 184:5
---	--	---	--

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[experiences - feelings]

Page 25

196:7 255:25	explains 212:16	fact 125:8	fallacy 178:6
experiential	explanation	138:18,18	familiar 16:6
177:6 293:10	69:22	149:3 155:9	60:6 65:24
experiment	explicit 129:25	159:20 190:25	79:21 107:14
43:15 259:5,18	explicitly 151:2	192:13 208:16	183:3 191:19
259:22 260:13	267:24 287:20	274:11,14	221:25
experimentat...	exploited 47:16	279:16 288:19	famous 164:21
260:4 290:22	explore 139:21	factors 115:3	far 19:13 35:25
experimenting	explored	factory 139:5	36:15 53:12
259:23 291:2	290:12	facts 62:2 88:7	94:25 117:2
experiments	express 153:22	faculty 98:4,22	187:5 244:4,13
258:20,21	expressed	fail 296:17	fashion 14:25
260:2,17	152:21 153:22	fair 17:2 24:25	209:20
expert 5:3 35:5	159:25	34:21 62:19	fast 16:10
35:6,11 39:8	extent 27:2	65:11 77:16	161:10 225:5
42:18 55:22,25	35:18 36:24	80:23 82:18,19	favors 251:18
56:7,21 58:13	53:15 187:12	83:21 86:10,19	feature 172:7
83:5,18 86:6	227:13 265:3	87:12 88:4,8	features 66:10
94:22 98:16	267:10 285:20	92:7 93:18,18	245:11
106:15 117:24	extra 24:13	93:21 95:15	feedback 99:9
118:9 119:21	extract 293:16	97:13 112:5,9	99:10 265:8,13
127:3,7 128:8	extrapolating	120:4,7 123:9	feeds 229:7
128:16 292:6	135:22	123:16,24	feel 48:15 69:10
expertise 58:17	f	129:7 141:2	82:13 125:11
62:13 68:8	f 290:17 295:2	166:21 177:10	128:10 132:15
69:7 79:15	face 144:17	189:5 224:3	136:15 140:25
82:16 117:9	293:13	226:17,24	188:20,23
126:15 154:17	facilitate	230:23 245:3	190:14 197:16
160:7 237:12	218:20 219:9	253:9,13	219:2 270:22
experts 38:2	221:18	254:25 255:16	272:19 278:24
expires 298:19	facilitates	255:20 264:8	284:14 286:4
explain 73:24	221:14	264:23 280:13	feeling 75:22
185:11		286:15 292:12	feelings 278:23
		293:22	

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[fellow - follows]

Page 26

fellow 98:23 99:9	finally 240:22 financial 41:15 208:19	116:4,12 120:10,24 157:11 174:2	flexible 73:4,6 75:23 174:8
felt 81:4,13,14 83:2 110:3 132:12 152:9 197:10,10	find 38:5 39:24 76:17 95:25 124:12 125:4	215:10 218:21 231:13 240:15 268:3 269:11	floor 215:10 flow 207:5 flush 69:21 122:12 220:9
feminization 148:20	125:10 145:19 149:21 161:7	270:7 283:24 285:15,18	focus 80:20 81:25 91:7
feminized 34:13	174:7 260:22 289:19	292:5 fit 15:14 34:9 140:15 187:13	111:10 130:8 141:7 148:2 189:2 211:12
field 65:8 75:7 75:11 76:5 87:6 99:23 100:6 101:2,4 101:11,13,20 102:10,18 124:16,23 125:2 130:6 157:13 177:4,7 181:16 183:18 185:13 188:2 190:9 208:19 210:8,24 293:11	finding 138:21 139:6,7 201:4 findings 149:3 fine 10:22 95:18 143:4 216:6 finger 92:18 284:17 fingertips 18:10 finished 24:15 38:21 112:13 218:10 fire 180:23,24 181:5 firm 8:17 22:13 54:22 55:6 193:14	187:20 fits 14:14 215:16,16 fitting 77:15 five 63:12 64:5 87:11 90:5,6 152:24 159:21 207:3 281:20 281:21 283:15 fix 261:5 flag 87:7 flex 72:6 flexibility 71:22 72:16,22 73:3,8,13 74:20,23 75:14 113:21 160:22	212:14 215:17 focused 26:18 88:12 108:7 111:14 141:8 214:16,21 253:12 261:6 focusing 187:2 focussed 88:5 281:10 focusses 189:9 folder 11:20 folks 157:25 227:22 follow 41:5 171:3 186:16 213:19 267:3 274:8 292:3 followed 203:5 following 62:16 141:21 follows 9:13 149:14
fields 101:14 130:7	first 9:12 13:8 14:13 21:8 36:3 57:4 60:24 69:3 71:3 85:17 87:18 111:13	169:13,14,19 170:2,21 171:16,23 172:8,15,18 257:4 271:3	

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[footnote - front]

Page 27

footnote 71:16	123:25 124:24	260:3,18	found 59:24,25
footnotes 39:16	126:6 128:5	261:13 269:5,8	71:7 125:7,19
force 256:19	129:3,23 131:2	269:19 271:13	138:21,25
forces 74:7	132:20 136:19	272:7 275:3,21	139:3 263:12
256:17	137:5,13,25	277:15 278:10	
foregoing	141:19 150:12	278:21,22	foundation
38:13 295:7	150:18 151:21	279:22 281:3	105:20,22
298:4	154:20 161:2	284:7 288:11	186:10 269:20
forgetting 13:8	162:9 164:14	288:16 298:8	foundational
form 7:21	166:11 167:19	formal 225:25	186:24
21:24 22:8	169:21 170:4	former 93:15	founders
25:8 33:21	173:9 174:19	226:8	185:17
34:13 41:21	175:7 177:13	forming 39:8	four 35:4 87:19
42:15 43:10	177:25 179:2	93:13 226:14	240:13 241:13
45:13,18,20	180:9 181:17	238:22 286:3	243:22 256:4
46:19 47:6	182:6,17	forms 42:20	fourth 26:16
48:7,23 49:23	185:23 186:2,9	258:23	frame 240:19
61:10 62:10	189:11 190:23	formulating	framework
64:17 65:6	193:6 195:2	42:14	278:9
68:6,13,14,23	196:15 201:25	forth 31:12,14	framing 63:4
68:24 72:17	202:23 219:12	36:14 52:12	francisco 1:4
73:15,20 74:25	220:19 221:2	204:7 229:4	8:13
75:16 79:13	221:16 222:25	272:13	frank 125:3
81:7 82:12	223:16 224:21	forthcoming	fraud 261:22
88:15,24 90:17	229:18 233:21	231:5	262:9
98:19 102:17	235:16,21	forum 210:8	free 56:24
103:15 104:7	236:20,25	264:15	261:11
104:11 106:15	238:4 244:6,15	forums 263:14	french 110:21
106:17,25	246:16,22	263:17 264:11	frequent
111:24 115:17	248:3,15,23	292:25 293:4	190:12
118:18 119:3	249:4 251:23	forward 63:4	frequently
119:15,24	252:16,25	161:10 212:5	102:9 234:16
120:8 121:11	255:5 256:24	236:9	friendly 151:7
122:21 123:7	257:25 259:19		front 11:23
			18:11 163:24

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[front - give]

Page 28

283:19	277:10	generality	geographic
fueling 270:9	gamification	91:20	197:11,22
full 9:20 34:19	136:15 137:9	generalizability	198:19
132:21 167:25	176:8 273:19	131:18 138:13	geotracking
170:15 219:3	274:21 275:16	139:9 140:3	283:21 291:4
fully 194:18	276:12 277:9	141:4,15	getting 49:17
263:20 279:5	278:3,19,24	144:18,22	87:24 113:24
fun 274:2,14,16	279:5	145:8,12,14	120:5 133:11
277:24	gamified	146:8,11 202:6	134:11 151:9
functionality	277:14	202:12,13,15	204:9 206:17
228:19	gamifying	generalizable	215:17 226:20
funny 109:6	273:20,25	46:3 104:17	229:25 267:8
fuoco 67:22	garcia 87:19,20	137:24 138:3,7	289:16
further 7:9	gas 223:5	138:11,17	ghost 108:2
28:5 31:11	gears 54:18	145:24 146:2	243:7
159:14 169:10	108:16 117:21	146:10 201:24	gig 23:12 42:23
244:2 253:22	gender 34:7	generally 17:15	61:3 63:8 70:5
291:8 293:25	108:4 139:22	70:13,19 88:11	70:11,17 97:2
future 96:13	general 42:21	92:19 137:4	98:12 103:3
139:13,18,20	47:25 66:5	237:6 262:13	108:5 148:20
143:16 289:15	93:8 94:14	generated	160:8 211:22
	102:19 125:19	52:24 106:14	220:2 241:11
g	136:15 141:10	generates	271:5
gains 138:25	141:17 145:15	102:11 183:4	give 10:8 12:16
game 147:16	160:16 179:5	generating	16:19 17:13
273:21 274:13	188:5,25	182:16,21	18:18 27:24
276:9,14	202:21 205:2	generation	34:4 41:11
277:24	227:19 229:15	182:25 187:3	49:3 80:16
games 137:8,8	238:2 239:5,8	189:19 190:6	97:23 99:8,8
137:12 140:7,8	241:6,10	geoffrey 2:9 9:6	99:13 132:21
140:23 141:3,7	247:11,12,14	54:6	134:23 143:9
145:20,22	263:12 279:13	geoffrey.wyatt	170:7 178:17
274:10 275:14	281:16 283:10	2:11	183:7 204:15
276:2,21	286:19		220:7 239:13

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[give - grounded]

Page 29

264:8,20	185:15 186:22	184:14 185:8,9	graduate 96:14 113:23
273:17	187:15 194:2	186:17 194:2	grain 216:6
given 35:6	194:13 197:13	195:21,22	grand 104:18
83:11 98:9	198:18 204:5	201:3 214:3	granted 260:5
160:7 179:14	205:21 207:5	217:20 234:11	granular
233:14 262:12	212:8 215:13	236:9 242:15	284:12
262:12 279:16	228:10 238:25	246:11 253:15	grasp 194:18
295:12 298:6	239:2,10,16	256:3 257:12	great 9:25 12:3
gives 148:24	243:21 253:21	259:3,5,8	12:11 28:21
174:20 271:2	261:21 268:2	266:5,6,8	33:10 38:8
giving 17:8	269:25 278:12	272:12 282:2	54:10 85:10
46:6 64:8	282:6 291:10	291:12 294:8	105:12 201:16
99:10,10	goal 287:12	golden 188:12	217:19 229:5
114:21 230:13	goals 161:23	good 8:4 9:18	241:13 282:5
234:9	256:12	9:19 15:17,18	282:15
glaser 183:11	goes 50:12 71:6	65:4 73:9 81:3	greater 24:15
183:13 185:17	74:2 100:3	83:24 87:4	greatly 170:22
188:6,8,15,16	106:10 148:7	128:8 136:4	green 271:22
go 10:20 17:15	197:20,21,23	145:17 146:5	greenwashing
17:16 37:20	242:21 244:13	151:22,23	150:19
42:25 43:25	247:24 268:14	156:3 178:18	grew 151:5
52:18 55:13	going 8:4 10:23	195:15 217:12	grievances
63:3 66:15	11:11 13:21	217:16 231:25	83:17
84:14 91:11	16:9 25:13	240:4 246:12	ground 100:6
96:4 98:20	26:21 37:22	246:14,22	183:19 196:2
99:16 102:4,6	60:21 63:4	247:5,8 261:5	groundbreaki...
114:25 115:2	81:10 84:2,19	265:23 269:3	103:2
117:3 119:5	86:12 94:3	278:19 282:19	grounded
124:6 125:22	95:9 99:10	govern 153:12	99:18 182:24
130:12 135:10	106:3 109:15	government	183:5,8,21,22
139:11 143:15	130:13 134:16	110:25 131:25	185:11,16
149:7,20 161:6	146:7,20 156:2	gps 261:17	186:23 187:6
163:7 172:17	156:20,20	gradual 21:21	189:2,7 190:7
176:13,14	158:8 166:22		

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[grounded - hinges]

Page 30

200:15 213:23 214:7 264:23 grounds 42:4 239:25 group 133:6,23 194:14 254:18 281:13 groups 200:10 200:21 281:9 grow 258:24 262:16 guess 90:4 91:13 120:5 214:8 267:6 275:7 277:7 287:4 guidelines 5:8 47:14 65:17 184:25 gulch 180:23	132:3 138:22 139:2 145:20 149:16 151:13 151:19 153:12 153:17 154:18 155:4,8 156:8 157:14 160:17 178:21 192:22 210:7 211:23 222:17 231:12 231:14 249:24 260:22 half 122:5 152:24 159:22 hallmarks 138:4 hand 153:10 295:14 hanly 2:3 9:3 happen 176:17 176:19 251:11 happened 22:15 47:19 180:25 205:9 happening 74:14 76:4,6 161:2 216:9 243:11 happens 92:3,4 135:10 136:11 167:2 274:17 happy 17:16 29:25 294:5,7	hard 51:25 214:24 harder 66:9 harmed 47:16 harsh 251:14 251:15 harvard 4:7 98:4 hastings 107:19 head 80:22 93:8 102:2,5 146:21 169:6 178:17 206:5 215:20 236:18 254:24 284:24 heading 123:12 heads 200:17 health 72:6 110:5 171:23 hear 123:18 287:3 heard 180:24 185:6 hearing 57:5,11 83:19 hearings 58:5 58:13,18 60:5 60:5 85:18 heart 74:2 heavily 131:16 held 57:5 heller 2:18 8:14 help 29:25 60:12 71:9	178:11 189:2 202:10,18 helped 70:24 99:6 helpful 40:19 63:4 69:22 128:25 146:14 helping 153:11 helps 74:12 181:19 195:25 202:15 270:22 heterogeneous 149:2 heterogenically 106:6 hey 109:14 216:24 hid 210:17 hides 278:25 high 87:15,17 94:18 95:20 96:23 125:17 181:7 231:15 265:20 286:7 higher 276:24 highest 198:11 highland 240:13 highlighted 169:25 highly 100:5 102:14 190:17 hinges 185:19
h h 3:9 79:4 193:18 hail 78:16 hailing 41:20 58:22 61:4,8 71:7 76:18 79:3,6 92:10 92:14 94:13,17 97:3,8 107:18 115:3,6,8 116:3,24 117:4 117:11 121:25	176:19 251:11 happened 22:15 47:19 180:25 205:9 happening 74:14 76:4,6 161:2 216:9 243:11 happens 92:3,4 135:10 136:11 167:2 274:17 happy 17:16 29:25 294:5,7	heard 180:24 185:6 hearing 57:5,11 83:19 hearings 58:5 58:13,18 60:5 60:5 85:18 heart 74:2 heavily 131:16 held 57:5 heller 2:18 8:14 help 29:25 60:12 71:9	

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[hired - importantly]

Page 31

hired 21:5 58:2 58:3	23:17 24:5,6 24:12,16 36:16	ideas 24:10 217:4,7 287:18 289:22	immigrants 242:22
hiring 96:22	256:11,18	identical 91:20	immigration 108:4
history 43:16 44:22 198:15 200:23	273:24 287:13 292:22	identification 11:15 18:21 25:18 27:11 30:16 32:25 59:8 84:23	impact 101:3 280:25
hold 76:24 77:2 91:9 95:8 97:14 141:25 146:11,12 173:18 182:13 234:10 247:9	housed 208:17 huge 214:25 huh 29:12 142:22 143:7 144:19 174:11 284:21	114:14 142:7 156:14 162:18 184:19	impactful 100:5,14,19,20 100:22
holding 128:2	huhs 16:8	identified 44:16	imperative 296:14
holland 13:11 13:15	human 47:15	identify 49:6 63:12 84:20	implement 244:6
home 71:9 222:16	humans 241:20 42:23	identifying 43:21 49:7	implementing 144:3
honest 62:12 160:6 164:18 220:21 245:8	hurt 47:16	identities 245:21	implications 4:17 142:20 200:22 249:21
honestly 40:11 79:14 150:13 266:17	hypotheses 186:13	identity 245:23	implies 143:2 150:20 271:12
hope 242:14	hypothesis 182:16,20,25	identities 245:21	importance 161:14 288:12
hopefully 114:21	183:4 185:23 186:8 187:3,4	identity 245:23	important 52:20 68:5
host 99:11	189:19 190:6	iii 122:18	124:22 126:3
hour 17:15 76:14 156:3	hypothetical 107:3 179:3	il 2:5	131:12 137:11
hourly 237:21 237:23 238:3,7 238:8,10,14	224:22 251:24	illustrate 31:18 259:19	172:7 181:15
hours 20:8,11 20:20 21:16	i	illustrations 52:23	191:5 193:3,8
	i.e. 66:17 67:14	images 210:21	193:12 207:6
	ice 230:15	imagine 116:10	215:3,5 246:25
	idea 37:17 67:8 201:7 241:18	immersion 99:24 177:5	267:5 273:12 288:19,20
		immigrant 243:3	importantly 71:21 171:15

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[imposing - institutional]

Page 32

imposing 270:11	included 40:7,8 includes 56:15	90:2 161:21 280:5	information 4:17 36:15
impossible 286:21	106:5 116:19 214:14 235:12	individual's 293:18	42:5 45:11 46:13 49:22
imprecise 165:7 166:16	235:13 292:23	individuals	53:16 95:11
impression 263:23,24 264:7,21	including 8:19 23:7 32:11 37:4 41:19 42:6 46:14	40:13 44:23 49:22 61:16 67:19 80:18 81:4 90:6	96:2 131:16,22 132:18 142:20 143:12,18 207:18,23
inaccuracy 159:3	50:18 86:7 136:24 144:17	192:5 255:22 258:12 260:7	208:7 262:17
inaccurate 125:13 161:3	144:21 259:15	induce 287:12	informed 205:7 208:10 227:19
inaccurately 124:14	inclusive 23:18	industrial 13:22	289:23
inappropriate 80:4,5	income 223:10 289:12	industry 33:16 58:23 92:19	ingredients 201:21
inaudible 14:2 15:8 47:20 114:18,22 138:23 216:25 253:22 287:22	124:13 125:12 179:3 224:22 251:24 269:20	97:8,11 107:18 121:25 149:16 149:25 151:18 152:15 153:18	inherently 65:25
inbox 54:9	increase 71:7	incredile 273:11	initial 252:22
incentive 96:21 198:7 287:8	independent 60:25 61:9,15 61:24 115:7,19	inferences 132:10	inputting 225:8 266:11
incentives 176:8 283:20 286:12 287:12 287:25 288:5 288:13	115:20 233:9 233:12,16 237:9	inflection 232:11	inside 195:18
incident 49:9	index 6:2	influence 166:23 225:11	insider 152:15
incidents 76:17	indicated 7:15	265:5 268:5 282:25	insight 154:14
include 174:7 208:18 210:7	295:8	influenced 172:23 265:12	insights 33:15 144:14 174:6 194:14
individual 74:5	74:11,14 75:21	influences 266:4	instacart 212:3
	75:22 89:25	inform 130:21 259:9	instant 251:17
			instantly 249:25 251:9
			institute 98:24
			institutional 42:6 43:6,7 44:6 46:14,17

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[institutional - invoice]

Page 33

46:24 47:11	interdisciplin...	interrupt	207:3,5,19,20
49:18 50:13	110:24	280:16	207:22,25
instruct 95:9	interest 272:23	interview 43:2	208:4,11,15,19
instructions	276:22,22	45:22 46:7	208:22 209:25
64:9 296:2	interested	48:13 132:17	210:4,7 211:3
insufficient	52:15 134:15	133:3,17	212:24,25
203:15	203:3 295:13	134:20 178:25	213:6,12
insurance	interesting	179:15,17	272:17 288:7,9
223:5	128:7 166:13	202:21 205:20	introduce 10:7
intake 44:13	182:19 191:24	205:21,23	25:14 30:12
integrity 227:5	223:19 244:17	206:13,15,20	59:4 84:19
intellectual	279:24 289:6	206:21 207:13	156:23 162:15
127:2 284:13	289:20	208:6,8 226:2	184:14
intelligence	interests 274:4	interviewed	introduced
110:17	274:25	72:5 78:15	33:5,6
intend 20:3	interface 221:6	112:24,25	introducing
intending	238:20	113:2,5 193:19	114:9 156:18
118:10 275:19	intermediary	203:4 209:3,6	introduction
intense 267:12	218:18 219:3	209:11 229:23	144:13
intensification	219:11,23,24	230:8 292:24	introductions
243:23 245:12	220:11,14	interviewing	156:22
258:11,14	internal 226:21	112:18 113:7	inuit 203:9
266:10 267:12	internet 98:5	133:5,6,13	invasiveness
intensified	interpret 14:17	134:9 178:22	266:3
280:7	272:15	192:23 204:20	inventor
intensifies	interpretation	204:24,25	183:16
173:5	272:8	205:3 214:6	investigated
intent 275:10	interpretations	interviews	250:4
interact 240:23	180:6	41:17 42:12	invisible 244:5
interactions	interpretive	50:16 51:4	244:8,14,21
284:12	148:8 178:8,12	112:21 132:23	245:4
interchangea...	180:11,13,16	132:24 147:15	invite 226:4
64:20	interpretivist	177:17 181:4	invoice 19:6,12
	148:16	205:11,12,18	19:14,25 20:9

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[invoice - know]

Page 34

20:13,15 21:8 25:7 35:24 36:18 38:5 54:8 84:18 85:5 invoices 20:4 35:18 involve 94:16 involved 55:22 88:2 90:10 94:12 99:5 241:15 260:6 292:18 involvement 35:20 37:2 involving 55:9 94:13 iphone 230:14 iran 94:5 irb 43:12 44:11 47:22 49:20 50:2,7 issue 25:7 82:10 91:15 239:7 251:6,10 254:19 issues 57:19,20 72:7 87:5 89:7 95:6 119:22 128:20 131:4 155:3 171:24 item 57:4 58:25 items 85:18,19	iterative 203:24 214:14 214:15,21 ix 122:4,8,8,12 j janitors 240:22 jeans 265:24 266:2 jeff 294:11 jersey 281:6 jo 2:4 9:2 17:25 22:13 34:4 52:14 54:20 55:6 159:11 job 1:25 16:19 75:24 96:21 110:11 133:12 225:23 247:8 265:23 272:19 jobs 61:3 222:20 joe 281:5,8 johnston 13:9 13:18 joint 244:23 joseph 5:4 13:12 121:4 124:13 125:4 128:11 journal 13:22 101:8 185:7 188:3,3 190:16	journalist 132:8 journalists 132:8 journals 97:25 107:10,13 127:25 jpollock 2:6 judgment 259:17 judgments 247:4 june 20:14,16 20:21 21:2,8 21:11,18 55:2 juno 78:17 k kameswaran 4:22 katie 2:9 9:8 keep 36:16 44:21 137:13 232:10 267:8 273:10 282:2 keeps 274:14 276:8 kept 116:10 key 67:8 143:12 144:14 159:4,9 271:4 kherkher 87:19 87:20	kin 295:12 kind 23:2 79:5 95:11 109:19 112:11 121:8 123:14 130:8 193:14 206:8 206:10 207:5 210:23 212:12 228:24 234:22 235:14 254:19 259:23 260:20 284:18 286:10 kinds 207:22 kirkland 2:8 9:7 kirkland.com 2:11 kirstina 9:4 klein 98:5,10 knee 136:5,6 know 14:2 16:2 17:12,18,24 23:25 28:22 29:23 36:22 43:15 44:4 47:21 48:10,14 49:12 53:21,23 58:14 60:4 63:18 64:6 67:22 71:19 73:7 76:2 78:15 83:4,15 83:16 86:24 90:3 92:14
--	---	---	---

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[know - legal]

Page 35

94:14,19,21,25	209:5,7,9	known 103:23 204:11	278:2
95:2,20 102:5	215:7 216:23	knows 93:19	lastly 76:12
103:7 104:20	216:24 217:2	kristina 2:4	laundering
104:22 105:10	219:4,21 223:8	kruger 13:11 13:15	266:13
106:4,13,18	224:8 225:16		law 98:4,14,17
107:5 109:10	226:7 227:8		106:16,24
110:8,12	228:2 229:7	I	107:10,10,13
111:19 113:17	230:14 232:7	I 2:16 4:13 107:21 193:18	111:3 115:25
113:22 114:2	237:15 239:20	label 87:6	128:16 129:2
115:19 117:3,8	241:18 244:17	labor 64:7	129:11 175:19
121:24 123:6	246:11 247:22		lawsuits 87:11
123:19 124:9	252:20 253:3,8		lawyers 37:5
125:8 126:8	254:16,24		139:4 145:21
127:15,23,24	255:18 261:22		282:11
128:19 129:10	264:13 266:15	lays 64:11	
130:8 131:13	269:22 275:18	lead 243:23	
132:19 133:6	276:18 278:7	leaders 183:17	
134:11 136:14	279:3 285:2	183:19	
136:17 140:5	290:18 292:23	leading 236:2,5	
140:12,13,16	293:6	272:25	
140:22 141:15	knowing 117:8	leads 145:25,25	
148:19,25	255:4,10	275:2	
150:23 151:6,8	286:20	learned 110:8	
152:10 153:9	knowledge	lease 115:8	
154:17 156:3	42:17,21,24	leave 167:23	
157:20,23	93:8 102:20	231:12	
161:7 167:21	103:17,19	led 223:21	
168:13,16,18	124:17 135:25	left 122:19	
169:2,22	136:11 148:17	158:22 282:4	
180:23 185:4	152:14 178:9	282:14	
190:18 191:18	181:23 227:20	legal 1:21	
198:15 200:16	237:18 286:20	61:20 62:8,11	
201:16 203:7	286:24	87:5 107:2	
207:17 209:2,4		115:24 118:19	

Veritext Legal Solutions

800-567-8658

973-410-4098

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[legal - lindsey]

Page 36

122:22 128:21	levels	113:23	19:1 20:1 21:1	111:1 112:1
130:17 154:21		133:13 240:13	22:1 23:1 24:1	113:1 114:1
238:22	lexicon	186:25	24:24 25:1	115:1 116:1
legislation	licenses	237:17	26:1,2 27:1	117:1 118:1
153:11	lie	136:10	28:1 29:1 30:1	119:1 120:1
legislative	lieu	7:10	31:1,2 32:1	121:1 122:1
83:11 85:18	life	109:21	33:1 34:1 35:1	123:1 124:1
lens		132:14 218:13	36:1 37:1 38:1	125:1 126:1
105:5	lifecycle	228:12	39:1 40:1 41:1	127:1 128:1
130:3	likely	102:15	42:1 43:1 44:1	129:1 130:1
lenses		254:15 262:15	45:1 46:1 47:1	131:1 132:1
letter		263:7,10	48:1 49:1 50:1	133:1 134:1
letters	lim	185:4	51:1 52:1 53:1	135:1 136:1
36:25	limitation		54:1 55:1 56:1	137:1 138:1
37:14		141:14 190:20	57:1 58:1 59:1	139:1 140:1
letting		190:25 191:2	60:1 61:1 62:1	141:1 142:1
10:9	limitations		63:1 64:1 65:1	143:1 144:1
29:22		139:13,17	66:1 67:1 68:1	145:1 146:1
level		144:17,21	69:1 70:1 71:1	147:1 148:1
70:22		172:9,12	72:1 73:1 74:1	149:1 150:1
72:21 74:14	limited	37:4	75:1 76:1 77:1	151:1 152:1
76:5 87:15,17		41:19 102:23	78:1 79:1 80:1	153:1 154:1
91:19 94:18		103:24 140:2	81:1 82:1 83:1	155:1 156:1
95:21 124:18		141:11 169:15	84:1 85:1 86:1	157:1 158:1
125:3,18		170:22	87:1 88:1 89:1	159:1 160:1
128:12 152:20	limits	172:14	90:1 91:1 92:1	161:1 162:1
153:6 154:11		220:14,15,16	93:1 94:1 95:1	163:1 164:1
159:16,23	lindsey	1:1,13	96:1 97:1 98:1	165:1 166:1
160:2 176:10		2:1 3:1,5,20	99:1 100:1	167:1 168:1
179:6 188:25		4:1 5:1 6:1 7:1	101:1 102:1	169:1 170:1
193:5,14		8:1,9 9:1,11,22	103:1 104:1	171:1 172:1
194:20 195:8		10:1 11:1 12:1	105:1 106:1	173:1 174:1
198:11 216:7,7		13:1 14:1 15:1	107:1 108:1	175:1 176:1
218:17 260:6		16:1 17:1 18:1	109:1 110:1	177:1 178:1
260:24 261:8				
265:21 275:24				
276:24 280:10				

Veritext Legal Solutions

800-567-8658

973-410-4098

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[lindsey - locations]

Page 37

179:1 180:1	247:1 248:1	link 60:9,9 234:19	285:7,21 little 35:16
181:1 182:1	249:1 250:1	linked 138:25	36:17 42:9
183:1 184:1	251:1 252:1	271:3	53:4 71:19
185:1 186:1	253:1 254:1	linking 202:6	72:13 114:23
187:1 188:1	255:1 256:1	list 26:17 32:7	163:3 165:11
189:1 190:1	257:1 258:1	35:2,10,13	197:2,7 199:12
191:1 192:1	259:1 260:1	40:23 51:20	210:22 215:9
193:1 194:1	261:1 262:1	52:16 55:16	221:11 245:22
195:1 196:1	263:1 264:1	57:4 83:7,10	250:8 253:16
197:1 198:1	265:1 266:1	85:13,19 94:11	253:22 277:17
199:1 200:1	267:1 268:1	245:15	287:4
201:1 202:1	269:1 270:1	listed 23:18	live 60:15
203:1 204:1	271:1 272:1	39:10	lived 196:6
205:1 206:1	273:1 274:1	listening 49:4	293:7
207:1 208:1	275:1 276:1	186:16	livelihood
209:1 210:1	277:1 278:1	listing 116:11	249:22
211:1 212:1	279:1 280:1	lists 152:10	liveries 115:4
213:1 214:1	281:1 282:1	literacy 105:15	115:15
215:1 216:1	283:1 284:1	literally 214:6	lives 76:14
217:1 218:1	285:1 286:1	literature 23:8	203:9
219:1 220:1	287:1 288:1	23:9,11 24:9	living 109:11
221:1 222:1	289:1 290:1	54:2 61:19	139:19
223:1 224:1	291:1 292:1	62:7 129:20	ljc 1:7
225:1 226:1	293:1 294:1,18	161:19 176:5	llp 2:8
227:1 228:1	295:1,7 296:1	188:19 198:22	located 17:20
229:1 230:1	297:1 298:1	206:17 214:8	location 246:2
231:1 232:1	lindseycamer...	217:3 221:20	246:15 247:23
233:1 234:1	3:22	234:23 272:12	268:12
235:1 236:1	line 6:5,9,14,18	284:20,22,23	locationally
237:1 238:1	19:16 67:14	293:21,23	262:14
239:1 240:1	130:14 239:16	litigation 1:7	locations 248:5
241:1 242:1	277:4 297:5	23:7 39:7,10	249:3
243:1 244:1	lines 48:12	52:10 284:5,19	
245:1 246:1	284:24		

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[locke - make]

Page 38

locke 188:12	188:2,24	49:10 51:2	173:8
locked 168:17	190:17,25	67:23 97:8	lying 80:18
log 167:17	193:24 211:25	99:7 107:17	lynch 155:7
168:3,7,23	219:16,23	108:11 110:8	m
170:20 173:3	232:25 250:21	116:2,19	m 67:14 193:17
205:9	looked 22:20	118:14 130:5	193:18
logged 167:2,8	31:13,17 32:2	132:3 137:19	machine
167:10,18,24	36:6 77:14	150:7 159:10	295:10
168:6,24	92:11 181:3	184:11 190:15	made 14:5
170:23	196:23 233:4	197:12 198:17	15:10 62:16
logic 224:2	243:14 263:22	210:16 213:20	125:11 127:11
logically	looking 20:12	216:24 229:3	129:10 137:20
127:18	20:15 24:21	230:3 235:11	149:14 155:12
logs 209:23	58:24 59:21	253:10 262:2	181:5 188:22
long 27:18	66:7 85:15	267:22 278:25	200:20 244:9
52:12 110:12	127:13 134:11	286:2	289:2 296:8
111:8,22 180:2	149:22 173:22	lots 73:5 77:4	madness 240:8
239:16 287:15	181:18,24	104:23 126:20	maffie 13:21
longer 17:16	190:15 193:23	176:6	15:3,11 230:25
27:3 134:14	196:14 199:22	love 221:17	266:12
273:24 287:13	249:14 270:20	low 71:21	main 241:18
longitudinally	286:9	171:15	maine 281:18
292:24	looks 19:8	loyalty 117:3	majority
look 26:23 40:6	20:13,15 29:15	198:9 225:14	190:14 197:4
72:24 74:4,6	31:9 33:13	232:9,9 266:6	208:9 257:6
75:25 82:21	59:23,23 63:7	283:20 284:2,6	279:16,19
85:4,5 100:25	85:23 184:4	284:10 285:14	284:14
103:5,21	195:16 199:23	286:7 290:6	make 14:16,23
107:15 111:5	203:8 219:17	lyft 78:17 86:3	15:20 16:11,18
131:8 132:9	254:2 267:23	86:13 90:10	33:25 34:12
134:16 147:17	281:21	91:23 92:13	51:2,13 86:24
148:11,18	lot 22:12,13,14	132:5 150:6	91:13,15
150:15 179:16	22:15,25 23:15	152:24 153:2	102:15 104:23
184:8 187:19	24:8 44:19	159:21 169:3	

Veritext Legal Solutions

800-567-8658

973-410-4098

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[make - md]

Page 39

105:5 136:2	111:11 116:13	manner 7:14	master's
137:2 151:6	116:18,22	manuscript	109:25 110:7
170:15 179:7	122:2 142:20	142:25	mastered
181:9 193:10	144:3,7,13	manuscripts	156:21
201:22 202:18	161:18 165:2	28:4	masters 108:19
202:21 208:15	167:11 170:24	map 104:25	match 154:12
208:20 211:9	173:4 177:4	marc 185:4	197:11 266:5
236:8 242:2	188:13 191:2	marijuana 78:7	matched
271:5 276:6	193:4 194:4,15	79:18	198:16 225:13
296:5	194:18 195:4,7	mark 11:11	matches 122:2
makes 13:24	195:12,16	27:6 54:12	134:21 198:19
24:17 118:17	203:11 223:15	marked 6:17	221:21 230:4
119:2,4 135:21	224:13 225:10	11:15 18:21	matching 64:8
212:9 259:25	225:25 226:20	19:3 25:18	198:10 215:8
267:14	234:12 235:21	27:11 30:16	215:13 247:25
making 61:22	236:4,10,14	32:25 59:8	249:2,10 266:7
61:24 65:17	237:2 241:9	84:23 114:14	283:19
68:19 115:22	242:4 243:8,23	142:7 156:14	material 43:9
126:25 127:12	245:13 249:20	162:18 184:19	materials 6:11
136:12 170:18	265:4,5 266:22	market 196:5	18:8,12 32:9
188:22 229:19	270:3 282:23	262:13 263:13	38:24 39:18
241:22 247:4	283:11,17	263:15	40:9,23 41:14
manage 63:20	manager	marketing	44:12,15 45:12
63:25 64:4,4,5	265:25	188:3,4 190:17	46:18 47:2
64:7,14,19	managerial	marketplace	48:6 51:16,19
management	144:9 276:21	220:4	52:10,17 92:23
4:16 41:23	managers	marketplaces	93:3,12 214:15
61:18 64:12	144:12 235:11	220:3	285:21,22
66:5,11,14,20	managing	marxist 234:15	293:3
67:20 74:7	96:14	masks 65:19	matter 8:10
88:14,23 89:15	manifests	massachusetts	12:16
92:12 96:8	281:12	90:9 91:25	mba 109:13,16
99:18,23 100:7	mann 180:23	92:21,24 93:3	md 1:6
101:15 108:21		285:25	

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[mdl - methodology]

Page 40

mdl 3:20 5:4 9:5 mean 21:4 23:10 24:8 40:20 47:7 48:24,25 51:23 53:4 57:25 58:16 63:16 64:3 73:24 78:21 82:25 91:22 93:24 95:20 97:19 99:9 105:17 112:6 113:17 115:22 117:7 117:13 119:17 125:16 126:18 127:9 129:19 129:24 131:4 132:7 134:2 136:21 137:14 137:17,18 138:11,13 141:6,7 143:17 145:12 147:12 150:9 151:16 152:23 154:19 166:8 167:21 168:21 173:10 174:24 178:15 179:13,24 181:2 184:8 186:15 188:5 189:23 196:16	200:3,12 204:24 210:20 223:25 226:10 226:17 229:14 241:7 247:16 249:15 250:13 254:9 255:2,13 258:21 259:14 260:8 261:14 264:16 266:3 266:20 270:20 278:18 279:23 280:16 281:5 282:8 287:16 293:5,11 meaning 62:18 170:15 240:14 meanings 138:15 means 78:8 81:20 92:6 150:16 201:19 meant 170:16 232:18 278:3 279:9 measure 104:21 271:25 272:4 measurements 104:24 measuring 280:25 mechanics 91:18	mechanism 145:18 190:3 267:5 271:7 mechanisms 136:10 259:13 268:16 271:5 medallion 115:10 media 8:7 84:10 158:17 218:5 229:6 median 199:23 mediated 253:18 264:5 medium 125:6 meeting 62:22 76:16 meetings 22:19 22:22 meets 240:16 memoing 272:14 memoranda 52:22 memory 174:3 memos 214:17 216:10,11 men 139:19 mention 12:19 13:16,21 65:15 210:6 225:22 240:10 mentioned 13:13,18 18:6	22:24 44:13 52:4 54:3 70:24 90:8 121:14 133:22 140:13 208:21 214:13,23 227:11 252:2 253:7 257:5 mentioning 163:16 246:21 mentions 212:2 mentor 109:14 merchants 218:20 messages 247:19 met 22:13 132:5 metapore 278:15 method 74:21 103:5 177:19 177:24 178:7 182:25 240:7 methodologies 100:9,16 methodology 99:22 124:19 126:4 130:24 131:6,17 176:15,17,18 177:3,10 183:9 212:6,7 213:13 214:3 217:11
--	---	--	---

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[methodology - name]

Page 41

218:10 292:12 292:18 293:19 methods 100:4 100:13,15,21 101:9 138:15 143:21 144:17 177:11 184:12 185:22 186:7 189:13 192:7 192:13 213:3 213:15 metric 101:18 127:6 metro 41:21 132:2 michael 276:19 micro 70:22,22 111:13 mid 1:21 middle 109:11 110:12,15 199:23 mike 230:25 mileage 223:4 milgram 260:2 mind 12:23 13:2,5 116:8 116:12 120:21 126:12 145:23 155:14 192:9 207:7 229:20 mine 47:25 284:14	minimum 201:10 237:23 238:7,8,10,14 242:20 minneapolis 238:13 minority 148:14 257:7 257:16 279:17 minute 10:21 18:18 35:16 41:11 55:17 116:16 117:23 170:18 211:16 273:17 minutes 156:9 156:21,23 217:18 misq 193:18 missed 126:21 287:9 missing 109:2 275:8 misspoke 157:18 mistake 86:24 155:12 mistakenly 33:23 mistakes 149:13,13,21 misunderstan... 159:15	mix 22:23 model 117:2 139:21 148:13 190:2 models 52:23 moment 62:3 168:14 monday 101:6 money 257:11 276:6 monitor 268:21 monitoring 246:8 247:15 291:4 monitors 225:3 225:5 247:19 months 21:22 204:7,9 mood 246:9 morning 20:9 33:7 motivation 96:21 97:7 motivations 135:10 motor 246:5 move 70:2 76:10 82:24 232:19 movements 245:18 moves 127:2 movie 94:4	moving 32:5 159:2 215:18 multi 222:16 277:3 multifaceted 72:25 multiple 45:3 133:11,19 138:20 139:6,7 139:8 147:13 167:22 168:7 168:16 192:21 192:22,23,24 192:24 222:17 247:9 256:8 mystery 265:22 möhlmann 193:16 194:8 möhlmann's 195:14
n			
n	2:2,16 3:2 193:18,18 201:16,17,19 203:14,17 nailed 271:7 name 8:14,24 9:21 13:8,9 25:2 32:11,11 60:6 107:20 121:24 122:6 149:10,16		

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[names - number]

Page 42

names 40:15 43:20 44:14 227:22	257:11 267:3,7 needed 52:10 125:2 193:24	189:3,14 190:2 216:19 217:7 237:24 281:6	notes 41:14 50:18,18 52:22 53:5 210:8
narration 74:11	needs 122:12 240:16	newark 281:5 nice 34:12	notice 3:19 25:14,25 27:15
narrative 174:19 184:4,6	negative 64:15 278:23	nick 117:12 nikil 60:2	30:25 31:7,13 32:7 295:8
narratives 74:9 216:23 236:19 236:20 270:24	neighborhood 259:6,8	nikil's 60:10,20 nine 201:17	notion 185:19 nots 265:10
narrow 40:20	neither 295:12	nn9 201:15 nod 4:4	notwithstanding 159:20
narrower 287:5	neo 237:3 nested 74:6 271:16	noes 16:8 non 39:10	noun 219:16 novelty 181:15 181:21,21
narrowing 134:18	network 71:8 258:24	normative 65:5 236:23 237:3 266:23	november 1:16 8:6 294:12 295:15
national 105:20 105:22 135:14	networks 259:5 neutral 64:16 64:21,23,24,25	norms 44:7 99:21 177:2 241:21	nuance 233:14 number 3:11
nature 57:11	242:6 248:25	north 139:20	4:2 5:2 8:7 11:16 18:22
nearly 113:19	278:20 279:5	never 43:23	20:8 25:19
necessarily 211:14 274:8	44:2 77:11 104:13 107:4	208:23 209:6 210:3,6 211:18	26:24 27:12,25 28:6,8 29:4,4,7
necessary 17:17 241:6 296:5	185:6 217:5	northern 1:3 8:12	29:7,9,9,10,13
need 17:11 67:24 120:20 125:14 136:5	242:5 272:21 272:25 273:14	notary 1:17 295:6,19 298:25	30:17 31:18 32:6,7 33:2
144:8 157:5 170:6 187:22	nevertheless 153:15 172:9	note 13:6 36:17 65:23 78:3	35:2,17 36:23 37:9,13 38:10
195:8 199:15 199:18 201:10	new 98:24 102:11,13,20	91:4 139:18	38:23 41:13
202:12 222:2	103:2,6,13,17	142:24 170:12	50:15 51:8,15
227:7 238:17	103:19,20,21	173:14	51:18 52:21,25
239:9 250:21	104:3 162:15 181:19,20	noted 91:3 296:12 298:9	53:14 59:9 70:9 76:19

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[number - oh]

Page 43

84:10,24 86:3	73:15,20 74:25	229:18 233:21	obtained 150:6
86:7 87:20	75:16 79:13	235:16 238:4	obviously 114:4 236:7
94:11 100:25	81:7 82:12	246:16 248:3	occur 12:24
101:11 114:15	88:15,24 90:17	248:15,23	13:3
142:8 156:15	98:19 102:17	251:23 252:16	ochutu 117:12
158:17 162:19	103:15 104:7	252:25 255:5	october 11:25
184:20 200:14	104:11 106:17	256:24 257:25	29:2,5
200:20 201:10	106:25 111:24	261:13 269:19	odor 34:13
208:14 218:5	115:17 118:18	271:13 275:3	148:20
263:18 277:25	119:3,15,24	275:21 277:15	offended 16:17
numbers 36:22	120:8 121:11	278:10 279:22	16:17
85:24 100:7	122:21 123:25	281:3 284:7	offer 155:2
101:19	124:24 126:6	288:16	271:18
nw 2:10	128:5 129:3,23	objecting 131:3	offering 175:17
o	131:2 132:20	objection 91:3	268:20
o 2:16	136:19 137:5	93:23 153:19	office 215:2
o'neill 2:9 9:8	137:25 141:19	187:18 244:15	officer 93:16
oath 7:10,11	150:12 151:21	objections 4:4	official 295:14
10:3	154:20 162:9	7:14,20 30:24	oftentimes
obfuscate	164:14 166:11	32:16 37:22	287:13
270:3 273:20	167:19 169:21	38:13	oh 8:25 15:17
obfuscates	170:4 173:9	objective 178:7	28:7,16 29:3
279:2	175:7 177:13	objects 42:3	29:12,14,21
object 21:24	177:25 179:2	53:17	37:21 47:3
22:8 25:8	180:9 181:17	oblique 234:2	71:17 86:10
33:21 42:15	182:17 186:2,9	observation	94:12 95:15
43:10 45:6,13	187:14,17	81:6 99:24	97:10 118:12
45:20 46:19	189:11 190:23	147:15 177:5	131:23 149:22
47:6 48:7,23	193:6 195:2	197:18 292:21	160:16 162:10
49:23 61:10	196:15 201:25	observations	194:10 215:23
62:10 64:17	202:23 219:12	210:8	241:7 249:11
65:6 68:6,14	220:19 221:2	obtain 68:11	254:22 258:22
68:24 72:17	221:16 222:25	226:13	270:16 272:20
	223:16 224:21		

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[oh - okay]

Page 44

282:15	36:19,23 37:18	99:12,16	174:16 175:14
okapaku 94:21	38:3,8,23	100:17 101:17	175:14,21
118:4 119:13	39:21 40:10	102:8 105:8	176:13 177:15
120:6,10 121:8	41:9 43:5 45:5	107:22,25	177:23 178:5
121:14,18,20	46:11,22 49:16	108:16 109:22	178:11,19
124:23 128:3	50:5,14,14	109:22 111:17	180:21 182:3
130:24 149:14	51:7,10,15	111:22 112:5	183:6 184:13
151:17 152:7	52:2,21 53:7	112:15 113:4	185:8 186:19
152:24 158:22	53:14,24 54:5	113:14 114:7,8	189:5,18
159:21 162:23	54:10,18,24	114:19,25	194:12 199:2
165:4 207:23	55:5,13 56:6	115:13 116:14	200:4,8 202:10
okapaku's	56:23 57:3,14	117:16,16,17	202:19 204:14
24:19 25:2	57:18,23 58:9	118:15 119:11	205:11,17
122:6 155:2	58:11,24 59:18	120:24 122:17	206:8 207:14
207:17	60:7,11,23	123:18 124:5	207:16 209:24
okay 9:23 10:6	62:5,15,25	124:22 125:25	210:5 211:6,21
11:24 12:3,7	63:21 64:3	128:14,18	212:5,12,16,22
12:11,21 13:4	65:11 66:8,15	130:23 131:8	214:5,13,20
15:19,23 16:2	67:10 70:21	133:2 134:13	215:7,15,20,23
16:21,25 17:19	71:17 73:19	139:11 140:19	216:10,15
17:23 18:12,16	75:20 76:9	143:4,11,15,20	217:9,10,17
19:2,24 20:2	77:3,8,12,12,20	144:25 146:14	219:10 220:16
20:12,20,25	77:25 79:10	146:14,22	220:23 221:24
21:10,14,20	80:23 82:6	147:8,24 149:7	223:14 224:3
22:5,16,24	83:6,13,21,25	150:9 153:15	226:12 227:11
23:17,21 24:6	85:10,23 86:4	155:9 156:11	228:9,9 231:3
24:6,25 25:6	86:18,21,22	157:4,20 158:3	231:9,9 232:16
25:12,22 26:20	87:14 88:4,10	158:4,7 161:17	232:25 233:19
27:21 28:11,18	90:7,7,8,23	162:4,13 163:7	235:5,24 236:6
28:21 29:12,14	92:2,22 93:6,9	163:25 165:3	237:15,25
29:15 30:7,23	94:9,24 95:4	166:4,8 168:6	239:12 240:2,7
32:4,22,22	95:18,24 96:3	168:25 169:7	240:8 241:17
33:10 34:16,23	97:9,13,13	170:10 171:6	243:13,20
35:15 36:9,12	98:3,11,13	172:6 173:6	245:9,9 247:2

Veritext Legal Solutions

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973-410-4098

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[okay - organizational]

Page 45

247:11,22	okpaku's	121:5	operating	opportunity
248:8,12 249:6		124:13 125:4	67:11 162:2	71:23 171:17
249:11,17,17		128:11 131:5	221:8 246:5	174:8 252:14
250:17 251:6		159:3	opining 247:18	292:2 293:20
251:17,21	old	102:14	256:17	opposed 103:21
252:12,20	older	141:5	opinion 12:20	115:9 151:13
253:5,5 254:16		190:8	40:12 76:23	155:8 258:14
254:25,25	onboarded		77:2 79:11	263:14,19
255:20 256:2		222:7	81:2 82:3,20	277:9 287:23
256:16,21	onboarding		83:5,18 90:24	opposite 135:7
257:22 258:18		231:13	94:25 106:15	optional 269:13
260:20 261:7	once	43:21	155:2 159:22	order 52:11
262:5,11		77:14 167:10	159:25 163:10	95:17 194:17
263:21,25		167:18 170:22	175:17 245:3	organization
264:25 265:15		172:10,13	246:13,18	37:5 96:22
267:16,25		173:3 215:12	247:12 251:12	133:14 165:20
268:2,9 269:7	ones	56:2 81:15	251:16 252:18	240:17 244:10
269:10,24,24		81:16 208:12	286:3	245:20 256:13
271:8 272:22		257:19,20	opinions 12:15	266:15,18
273:13,16,17	online	143:22	34:18 38:25	270:4 275:10
275:17 277:7		256:10 262:16	39:8 41:22	275:19 276:13
278:18 279:6		262:25 263:20	42:14 52:11	276:23 281:11
279:19 280:19		264:15,18	53:10 72:10	283:6
281:25 282:6		288:10 292:25	82:24 88:12,20	organization's
282:15,20,22	oops	27:7 91:9	92:24 93:14	161:23 274:4
283:4,14,23		232:4	95:14 113:10	organizational
284:4 285:20	open	71:2	118:4 121:9	68:2 69:16
286:9 288:12		72:23 142:10	213:16 226:14	76:5 88:13,22
290:2,9,15		214:15,21	238:23 284:6	89:12,14 95:6
291:3,6,7		263:13 273:11	284:25	99:17,23 100:6
okpaku 5:4	operate	221:10	opportunities	101:15,16,16
13:12 15:6	operates		139:17 225:11	111:11,14,16
124:14 169:11		220:23 221:4,4	248:9,21	130:3,21 136:8
				161:13,13,19
247:11,22	okpaku's	121:5	operating	opportunity
248:8,12 249:6		124:13 125:4	67:11 162:2	71:23 171:17
249:11,17,17		128:11 131:5	221:8 246:5	174:8 252:14
250:17 251:6		159:3	opining 247:18	292:2 293:20
251:17,21	old	102:14	256:17	opposed 103:21
252:12,20	older	141:5	opinion 12:20	115:9 151:13
253:5,5 254:16		190:8	40:12 76:23	155:8 258:14
254:25,25	onboarded		77:2 79:11	263:14,19
255:20 256:2		222:7	81:2 82:3,20	277:9 287:23
256:16,21	onboarding		83:5,18 90:24	opposite 135:7
257:22 258:18		231:13	94:25 106:15	optional 269:13
260:20 261:7	once	43:21	155:2 159:22	order 52:11
262:5,11		77:14 167:10	159:25 163:10	95:17 194:17
263:21,25		167:18 170:22	175:17 245:3	organization
264:25 265:15		172:10,13	246:13,18	37:5 96:22
267:16,25		173:3 215:12	247:12 251:12	133:14 165:20
268:2,9 269:7	ones	56:2 81:15	251:16 252:18	240:17 244:10
269:10,24,24		81:16 208:12	286:3	245:20 256:13
271:8 272:22		257:19,20	opinions 12:15	266:15,18
273:13,16,17	online	143:22	34:18 38:25	270:4 275:10
275:17 277:7		256:10 262:16	39:8 41:22	275:19 276:13
278:18 279:6		262:25 263:20	42:14 52:11	276:23 281:11
279:19 280:19		264:15,18	53:10 72:10	283:6
281:25 282:6		288:10 292:25	82:24 88:12,20	organization's
282:15,20,22	oops	27:7 91:9	92:24 93:14	161:23 274:4
283:4,14,23		232:4	95:14 113:10	organizational
284:4 285:20	open	71:2	118:4 121:9	68:2 69:16
286:9 288:12		72:23 142:10	213:16 226:14	76:5 88:13,22
290:2,9,15		214:15,21	238:23 284:6	89:12,14 95:6
291:3,6,7		263:13 273:11	284:25	99:17,23 100:6
okpaku 5:4	operate	221:10	opportunities	101:15,16,16
13:12 15:6	operates		139:17 225:11	111:11,14,16
124:14 169:11		220:23 221:4,4	248:9,21	130:3,21 136:8
				161:13,13,19

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[organizational - papers]

Page 46

161:19 162:5,5	outcome	222:23 224:12	paid 19:22 58:2
163:17,23,24	202:16 295:13	230:14 250:10	58:3 87:24
164:3 165:13	outline 206:24	250:13 261:12	210:16 229:25
165:19 172:23	206:25 207:12	270:25 284:5	242:20
175:22 177:4	236:7 240:5	284:24 285:12	paint 74:13
181:6 188:18	282:14,17	owning 115:10	palatable 149:2
193:5 194:20	outlines 38:11	p	palpability
195:8 231:20	207:9	p 2:2,2,16	106:5
232:6 233:3,8	output 205:6	200:14,19	paper 12:8 14:8
233:17,19	outside 56:21	p.m. 1:17 8:5	15:15,18 28:3
234:20,22	62:13 69:7	10:24 11:4,4,8	28:3,16 53:5
235:2,15,21	79:15 82:15	84:3,6,6,10	71:13,14,18
239:4 243:24	116:22 208:23	158:9,12,12,16	101:2 106:4
244:6 264:4	210:6 211:7,18	217:21,24,24	113:24 114:4
270:4 275:15	237:25 284:5	218:4 291:13	117:10,14
276:15 280:3	293:23	291:16,16,20	130:14 151:2
280:12,24	outsource	294:9,22	173:16 174:18
282:24	265:3	package 97:11	177:20 179:13
organizationa...	overall 197:5,6	pad 36:17	188:11 194:9
276:16	260:18 288:18	page 3:4,11 4:2	196:6 211:19
organizations	overlapping	5:2 6:5,9,14,18	214:24,25
74:12 176:9	178:16	12:4 26:16	215:15 236:24
218:12 228:12	overprescribi...	30:6 60:12,24	264:12 266:21
244:5 258:19	239:14	63:6 70:4 91:9	275:13 288:22
264:3 265:2,17	overview 5:7	91:12 115:2	papers 27:23
268:5,10,15	184:24 218:12	139:13 163:7	43:25 45:23
270:8 273:20	own 50:13	185:12,15	63:22 92:17
274:25	52:19 115:8	186:22 194:13	101:5,8 102:5
organizing	122:7 123:21	264:3 282:13	114:3 127:16
181:7	130:8 136:24	282:16 297:5	136:21 137:6
origin 150:15	173:7 174:9,13	pages 27:18	166:6 173:15
original 28:14	174:15 175:2,6	298:4	177:15 181:3
288:3 296:15	189:8 196:14		191:3 213:22
	204:17 220:10		247:7 287:19

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[papers - pennsylvania]

Page 47

287:24	212:7 285:10	210:9	path 108:24
paragraph	parameters	participate	pattern 44:22
60:23 65:16	14:4	47:24 240:24	pause 76:9
76:11 78:3	paraphrase	participating	240:6
91:11 96:6,12	242:15	7:3	paused 25:10
97:15 99:17	pardon 15:23	participation	pauses 240:3
121:21,22	parental	163:11 166:10	pay 87:21 88:2
122:7 123:11	271:23	166:19	224:9,14
124:8,11	parentheses	particular	225:13 237:20
127:10 131:14	170:14	101:8 119:21	238:9 288:18
149:10,12	part 34:3 37:12	133:8,24	288:18,25
158:22 159:2	42:13 53:9,11	219:16 240:18	289:5
161:7,18 163:9	65:20 69:3	266:25	paying 223:10
169:8 176:19	77:9 90:16	particularly	223:13
195:21 199:4	91:8 92:11	230:7	pdf 12:8
204:16 210:5	93:16 95:2	parties 7:12,20	peacemaking
212:20 213:18	104:22 120:10	37:24 218:19	188:21
213:19 218:16	120:14 121:3	219:8 230:15	peer 28:8 43:25
231:10,22	123:21 127:9	partnered	46:6 63:23
232:8,14,15	140:24 154:25	227:2	82:3 106:10
233:5 238:25	160:9,10 167:4	parts 90:14,19	124:20 127:25
239:3,13 240:9	167:7,21	119:12 120:6	136:23 138:19
241:23 242:3	171:12 177:18	127:20 148:25	151:8,8
243:21 244:3	197:19 216:11	237:2	pelta 2:18 8:14
245:10 249:18	226:10 239:21	party 115:9	penalized 78:4
253:17 256:3	242:25 243:19	295:13	242:22 261:21
258:18 262:11	262:6 271:9,11	passenger 1:7	penalties 262:6
268:3,9 270:16	275:13 293:19	passengers	penalty 66:18
274:18 283:25	partial 261:24	174:7	67:17,19
292:6,11	participant	passing 259:17	pennsylvania
paragraphs	177:16 195:23	past 23:22 35:4	1:19 2:10 57:6
120:25 121:7	197:18	101:7 169:19	96:9 97:16
121:14,17,20	participants	209:15 286:18	295:3
122:18 123:12	43:18 139:18	293:4,8	

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[people - pin]

Page 48

people 22:13 34:11 44:23 47:23 66:11 76:3,15 77:17 78:16,21 80:11 105:17 106:21 108:12 110:23 117:13 125:17 126:9 128:9 132:3 133:6,13 133:23 134:8,9 134:20,20 137:13,19 138:20 139:3,6 145:10 150:7 150:11,14 160:11,24 164:25 166:21 167:22 168:2 168:15,19,21 168:23 179:6 179:17 181:6 190:13 192:24 197:10 203:3 204:20,25 205:3 214:7 225:5 230:2 233:11 254:19 257:13 259:23 263:19 267:3 273:6,11 274:19 276:18 279:3 289:12 292:24	people's 176:7 200:16 243:16 285:8 percent 60:24 61:2 76:20 101:11 257:17 257:17,23,23 258:4,7 279:7 279:8 performance 96:22,23 161:22 265:3 performed 177:18 period 22:18 111:12 168:18 permanent 254:9 permission 49:18 person 7:11 22:23 37:3 65:18 70:25,25 74:22 76:14 80:16 119:6 133:5 137:15 148:18 187:25 203:4 262:15 264:14,19 personal 71:8 83:19 132:13 252:9,17 personally 81:22,24 252:6	perspective 72:20 75:6,10 76:6 82:22 130:17,17,18 130:19 138:12 143:17,18 144:8,9 145:13 152:3 164:13 227:7 perspectives 148:6,23 195:25 petition 47:9 ph.d. 24:24 phd 109:13,15 109:17 111:6 124:15,23 125:2,14 135:8 phds 128:9 phenomenolo... 184:4 phenomenon 103:2,6,21 139:4 181:19 181:24 201:3 243:11 philadelphia 17:22 76:19 295:4 philosophical 240:19 phone 220:24 phonetic 208:3 235:18	photo 65:16 66:2,4,12 68:4 68:11 69:8 photos 210:15 phrase 151:5 174:23 259:24 phrased 64:15 69:11 phrenology 200:15 physical 245:18 physically 7:5 17:20 picking 132:13 picture 74:13 199:24 pictures 210:14 210:19 piece 15:3 46:2 108:9,13,15 141:5 147:11 179:12 287:8 pieces 45:15 53:5,5 108:13 125:8 170:6 197:2,8,12 198:18 211:17 215:15 243:9 267:23 276:7 pile 215:12 piles 215:9,15 215:19 pin 155:7
--	--	---	---

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[pinned - pollock]

Page 49

pinned 10:17	222:2,3 226:21	point 14:21	68:24 72:17
place 11:3 45:4	228:11,12,20	37:23 47:16	73:15,20 74:25
80:14 84:5	228:20 229:8	61:7 160:19	75:16 79:13
158:11 217:23	229:17 230:11	170:18 177:6	81:7 82:12
232:15,17,17	230:12,20	254:11 255:4	88:15,24 90:17
240:18 259:13	231:2,6,8,23	273:22 277:22	91:2 93:23
279:4 291:15	232:5 246:23	279:17	95:8 98:19
295:8	249:8 250:24	pointing 92:17	102:17 103:15
placeholder	251:9 257:6	points 14:8,16	104:7,11
79:5	258:23 269:12	119:9 149:9	106:17,25
places 15:8	platforms	231:11 232:12	111:24 115:17
92:3 103:12	41:18 97:3	277:25	118:18 119:3
210:17 214:2	173:8 193:25	poised 103:5	119:15,24
plaintiff 31:25	196:5 222:14	police 34:11	120:8 121:11
32:18 42:3	222:17 229:6	policy 46:23	122:21 123:25
86:6,9,16,17,20	262:13 263:13	50:7 57:6 99:8	124:24 126:6
plaintiff's 21:6	263:15	politically	128:5 129:3,23
30:24 31:7	platinum	242:6	131:2 132:20
37:4 269:16	198:12	pollock 2:4 3:7	136:19 137:5
plaintiffs 2:7	play 227:10	8:23 9:2 10:12	137:25 141:19
9:5 19:13	239:11 274:13	10:16 17:25	150:12 151:21
plan 12:16	playing 273:21	21:24 22:8	153:19 154:20
53:19 259:3	274:10,15	25:8 26:10	156:2,11 162:9
288:13	277:23	29:19 30:2	164:14 166:11
planned 240:16	plays 289:12	33:21 37:21	167:19 169:21
plans 15:20,25	please 8:21	38:4 41:2,7	170:4 173:9
platform 65:18	9:20 16:17	42:15 43:10	175:7 177:13
81:21 82:9	17:5 75:3 91:4	45:13,20 46:19	177:25 179:2
111:20 112:16	130:12 131:13	47:6 48:7,23	180:9 181:17
169:3,3 170:3	178:13 267:8	49:23 54:6,11	182:6,17 186:2
193:5,19	291:11 294:16	54:16 55:6	186:9 187:7,12
194:19 201:24	296:4,9	56:10 61:10	187:17 189:11
202:22 204:17	pledge 16:11,13	62:10 64:17	190:23 193:6
204:22 216:22	16:13	65:6 68:6,14	195:2 196:15

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[pollock - process]

Page 50

201:25 202:23	possible 10:19	pretty 49:25	prioritized
217:14 219:12	45:10 244:20	57:21,22 63:24	52:19
220:19 221:2	294:15	63:24	priority 198:10
221:16 222:25	possibly 68:7	preventing	266:7
223:16 224:21	261:17	17:7 47:23	privileges
229:18 233:21	postulating	prevents 43:8	252:24
235:16 238:4	193:15	44:11 46:17	pro 232:23
244:15 246:16	power 13:24	previous 171:4	288:13
248:3,15,23	234:17 278:13	previously 22:3	probably 14:23
251:23 252:16	279:4	26:18 32:17	29:3 101:10
252:25 255:5	powerpoint	35:18 36:24	134:4 164:21
256:24 257:25	33:14 255:21	38:14 55:6	165:11 198:5
261:13 269:19	pre 65:5	107:10 159:20	228:7 232:14
271:13 275:3	precise 113:19	166:6 213:9	263:10
275:21 277:15	215:18	228:21	problem 10:11
278:10 279:22	precisely 76:13	prices 64:9	16:12 82:8
281:3 282:7,11	256:12	242:19	223:23 280:9
282:15,18	predominantly	pricing 116:19	process 16:7
284:7 288:16	139:19	230:6 283:20	21:21 43:22
291:9,24	preexisting	primarily	47:17 49:17
293:25 294:5	285:6	99:20 177:2	52:13 63:13
294:16	preferred	prime 134:15	64:7 90:13
poorly 68:18	266:7 287:13	134:17,20	106:10,14
population	prelude 176:24	146:3,3	145:15 161:20
135:23	prepared 206:9	principle 189:7	185:21 190:3
portrayed 73:4	present 7:6	279:13	191:8,12 201:5
position 269:3	8:18 152:6	printed 18:7,9	203:24 205:17
positive 64:16	presentation	prior 27:2	214:14 228:18
148:8,8,12	32:19 33:20	55:16,21 83:15	233:20 234:14
180:13	34:5 53:8	85:12 89:21	234:19 235:2,4
positivist	presentations	90:14 98:23	235:10,12
180:14	99:8	108:17 227:22	266:12 274:16
possession 39:5	presented	249:6,13 284:5	280:3,24,24
39:12	225:12	286:14	281:11,16

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[processes - published]

Page 51

processes 136:8 176:6,7 186:24 199:9 201:4 219:17	266:6 286:7 290:6	propositions 185:24	provision 221:14
produce 31:25 32:18 45:11 147:18	programed 240:18	propounded 298:7	proximity 197:12,22 198:20
produced 23:7 27:2 28:13 31:24 32:17 35:18,25 36:7 36:15,24 38:2 38:14 39:6 48:6 53:3,11 53:15	programmers 240:18 programs 117:4 198:9 232:9,10 283:20 284:2,6 284:10,11 285:14	protect 43:12 47:15 49:12 56:12 276:21 protected 42:5 44:3 46:13 protective 45:2 95:17	proxy 266:18 psychological 130:18 psychology 99:19 109:23 110:2,9
product 38:22 60:19 114:5	progress 281:2 progression 148:13	protocol 133:18 205:21 205:22,24 208:6	public 1:18 110:5 160:16 181:4 228:6 292:25 295:6 295:19 298:25
production 6:8 43:8	project 49:19 50:12 99:5 111:18,23 112:12 206:9	protocols 44:20 47:11 207:9	publically 32:19 39:11
productivity 246:9	projects 50:8 71:11 157:25	prove 245:18	publication 32:12
profession 105:6	promised 47:25	provide 40:23 57:24 71:23 79:17 119:7 139:17 171:17	publications 28:9
professional 71:8	promotional 293:3	238:16,19,20 270:10,17	publish 44:18
professor 96:8	prompt 284:18	provided 6:11	published 28:13 32:12
profitable 250:3	prompted 25:6	34:20 35:4,11	42:18 45:15
profits 117:3	properly 66:24	40:24 51:16	63:23 107:9
program 99:20 109:17 110:8 110:11 111:8 176:25 198:7 212:17 225:14	proposals 105:21	52:7 57:5 224:11	113:25 155:10 196:6,22
	proposed 185:16	provides 122:9 237:16	224:12 230:23 231:2 286:14
	proposes 104:14	providing 120:19	287:7 288:22 289:8 290:12 293:21

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[publishes - question]

Page 52

publishes 107:17	put 11:20 15:8 19:2 31:8 33:8	138:13 141:10 141:16 143:21	105:3 106:11 135:5,11,12,16
puff 125:7	34:23 36:18	144:12,21	136:3,4,17
pull 25:12 171:6 173:16 228:5 254:23	53:9 85:13 108:12 117:22 124:8 148:13	145:12,17 146:13,17 147:4,7,19	138:12 146:5 146:12,24 147:3,6,19,21
pulled 18:13 30:3 290:4	158:25 162:22 169:7 188:6	148:2,6,14 177:2,3,19,23	178:2 182:5 189:16 191:13
pulling 141:4	199:3 218:9	178:3,9 181:12	191:18,25
punishment 67:25	233:24 259:13 puts 171:4	181:16 182:4,9 182:15,20,22	192:2,18 267:21,23
punishments 67:7	284:17	183:17,20,23	279:9
pure 188:15 208:2	putting 132:14 215:14	183:25 184:9 184:12,24	quarterly 64:11
purpose 123:13 174:23 181:12 208:5 246:21	q	186:12 189:13	quest 198:6
purposeful 151:5,12	qualifications 96:5	190:7,21	question 7:21
purposely 276:8	qualified 175:9	191:12,17,17	16:23,24 17:4
purposes 11:15 18:21 25:18 27:11 30:16 32:25 59:8 77:15 84:23 92:5 114:14 142:7 156:14 162:18 184:19 203:18 253:12	qualitative 5:6 99:21,22 100:4 100:13,16,21 101:5,9,9,20 102:4,7,9,24 103:4,18 104:4 104:14,15	191:20,22 193:3 199:16 200:25 201:2 229:10,13 263:8 267:18 272:3,24	17:5,5,13 26:24 38:17 40:15 46:15 48:9 51:2 56:11,15 58:15 66:8 68:18
pursuant 295:8	qualitatively 267:17	267:17	69:2,11,20 72:14,19 73:22
push 103:7 146:7 181:19	quality 125:17 128:10 229:8 285:17 286:7	quality 125:17 128:10 229:8 285:17 286:7	79:2 81:17 83:3 88:17 89:9 91:8
	quantification 267:14	quantification 267:14	106:19 107:5,7 120:2 122:24
	quantitative 101:21 102:10 102:21 103:22 104:2,12,20	quantitative 101:21 102:10 102:21 103:22 104:2,12,20	122:24 123:4 123:22 128:7 128:22 129:2,5 133:4,9,18

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[question - real]

Page 53

134:7,14,14,19	133:21 143:9	rachel 137:18	rationale 119:7
135:3 140:11	159:19 175:15	racial 200:22	raw 44:2
140:17 141:7	176:15 193:16	200:23	rct 135:15
141:21 151:23	195:11 203:2	racially 65:25	reach 201:23
154:22 162:11	206:6 217:11	66:6,12	reached 204:12
165:12,18	227:9,10 240:4	radar 197:3	reaction 83:19
168:20 173:18	257:3 268:24	raise 17:5	reactivation
175:5,10	273:10 282:3	raised 39:22	253:23
176:22,23	291:8 292:3,3	119:9	read 22:12,25
179:10,21	294:2 298:7	raises 131:9	23:9,15 31:15
182:19 186:17	queued 234:23	raising 259:7	42:22 52:7
186:20 191:24	quickly 85:4	random 135:4	77:19 92:16
193:8,22,25	196:5	135:15,15	115:11 118:11
195:9 203:14	quintessential	190:16 254:18	129:19 152:12
206:18,20	283:6	ranked 190:17	170:13 174:2
220:12 223:19	quite 58:15	rapidly 181:25	176:21 186:3
227:4 231:25	80:12 104:8	rate 76:5	187:9 189:6,23
234:5 235:18	109:8 128:8	224:14 237:21	195:21 227:17
244:17 246:12	130:11 133:17	237:23 238:3,7	227:22 237:12
252:3 253:16	133:20,20	238:8,10,14	242:16 244:2
255:7,14,16,17	141:21 159:13	246:4	260:11 265:18
258:10 261:15	159:15 160:11	rates 224:9	285:3 289:13
267:6 272:23	169:14 202:8	231:15	293:22 296:4
272:25 273:15	208:3 271:14	rather 16:8	298:4
275:5,22 277:3	278:12	31:13 65:4	reading 51:11
279:24 280:9	quote 254:2,12	187:3,9 234:8	60:22 116:11
280:11,13	r	234:8	125:6 130:5
284:18 286:10	r 2:2,16 79:4	rating 116:19	197:25 198:21
287:4 292:14	295:2 297:3,3	198:2,2 215:8	198:22 206:16
questions 6:17	r1 143:2	224:10 225:7	214:15 215:6
16:20 31:10,16	rabbit 212:3	266:4 276:5	272:10
69:25 76:10	race 108:4	290:10,14	ready 84:14,15
85:11 90:20	200:18 242:18	ratings 225:9,9	real 193:7
117:18 130:14		253:19	271:12

Veritext Legal Solutions

800-567-8658

973-410-4098

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[realize - regulation]

Page 54

realize 73:3 155:22	reasons 44:25 49:2,11 103:8	recognition 101:3	reference 38:15 51:19 65:21
realized 15:14	163:9	recognize 156:25	177:9
really 15:16 52:5 69:2,4 73:6 80:20 83:5 87:23 88:3 92:5 109:14 126:8 129:20 134:15 150:22 151:23 155:20 160:21 160:25 166:14 191:10 195:4 196:24 201:11 201:12 229:5 235:8 239:19 246:18 247:8 257:2 260:7 263:9 271:6 273:8 286:15 290:7 293:7	rebuttal 3:13 13:13 15:6 24:19,23 25:3 117:24 118:12 118:17,24 119:2,5 120:12 120:17 121:4 124:7 149:9 158:21 rebutting 118:3 recall 57:10,18 171:8 222:8 228:3 292:14 receipt 296:16 receive 37:13 received 27:17 28:24 33:7 51:17,23 52:17 84:17 124:15 124:16 214:4 227:13	recognized 192:18	referenced 23:5 79:3 228:7 references 33:24 34:3 43:5 referencing 78:13 referred 201:6 249:7 250:11 referring 39:15 39:20 49:16 66:2 131:22 149:13 167:14 170:25 refers 50:23 52:24 refined 113:12 113:16 reflect 196:7 242:4 reflected 20:8 reflects 19:20 reflexus 192:6 refund 261:24 region 1:21 registered 65:18 registrations 237:17 regulation 115:5
realm 62:13 79:15	receives 103:8 recent 72:12 recently 15:13 recess 11:3 84:5 158:11 217:23 291:15	recorded 8:8 295:10 recordings 41:15 50:19 52:23 268:18 records 35:19 35:19,20 36:13 36:13 52:24 181:4	
realtime 256:9 288:13	recourse 81:21 refer 9:23 150:21 reciting 154:11	refer 9:23 51:18 165:23 216:15 228:11 249:18 258:19	

Veritext Legal Solutions

800-567-8658

973-410-4098

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[regulations - reporter]

Page 55

regulations	60:19,21,21	replacement	122:6,19,19
245:19	80:21 102:3	136:6	123:3,7,11,13
relate	106:3 108:14	replicable	123:20 124:13
231:19	110:10 146:20	148:10	125:5,12,19
related	151:4 153:14	replicated	127:4,8 130:25
23:16 41:16,19	158:23 169:5	145:15	131:5,17
76:15 82:9,11	180:12 194:6	report	132:14 137:23
90:20 134:17	206:4 222:10	3:13 5:3	149:8 152:17
202:7 233:20	227:21 251:2,6	11:11 12:7,13	152:19,21
relates	265:20 274:17	12:17 13:14,20	153:8,24 154:3
230:23	288:24,25	14:11,16,18,22	154:4,12 155:6
relations	remembering	15:18,20 18:7	158:21,25
relationship	81:9 238:15	20:4 23:5,19	159:5 160:8
202:11 221:11	remind	23:21 24:8,10	161:5,6 162:2
relevant	187:7	24:15,18,19,23	162:23 163:8
100:12	203:21	24:23 25:3	169:7 176:14
152:16 162:6	reminding	28:15,25 33:25	197:25 199:3
reliability	187:18	35:6,11 38:16	213:14 216:13
146:15,16,23	remote	38:20 39:9,11	216:14 218:9
147:5,16	1:12	42:10,11 43:3	222:6 226:25
reliance	26:2 30:25	51:11 53:6,11	228:6 229:15
207:17	221:11 263:20	53:21 55:14	232:18,20
relied	remotely	78:5 82:9	233:15 236:19
38:24	1:15	85:16 89:7,18	239:2,10,21
39:7,21,23	7:8,12 8:19	89:21 90:3	253:12 254:7
290:7	renders	91:8,12,25	266:21 285:6
relies	240:19	93:5 96:4	285:10 286:17
rely	rep	105:13 117:22	286:25 289:7
42:11,17	223:22	118:12,17,17	292:6
285:11	repairs	118:24,25	reported
relying	repeating	119:2,5,12,20	254:20
34:17	152:8	119:22,23	reporter
92:22 96:25	repeats	120:7,14,16	8:16
227:15 284:4	31:12	121:3,5,15	8:21 16:10
285:21 286:13	repetition		294:10
286:23 287:6	204:9		
remember	rephrase		
22:20 40:13,15	17:6		
52:5 60:5,18	173:12		
	replaced		
	64:4		
	136:5		

Veritext Legal Solutions

800-567-8658

973-410-4098

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[reporter's - research]

Page 56

reporter's	52:21	126:13,16,17	191:17,19,20
16:18	request	126:20,23,24	191:22,25
reporting	184:11	127:14,15,22	192:2,7 193:4
7:14 255:25	requests	127:25 128:4	193:16,21,25
reports	26:17 27:16 31:12	129:13,17	195:11,23
32:8 38:10,19 54:3	required	132:11 133:8	196:14,17
89:21 90:15,15	113:23 224:20	133:18 134:6	197:20,24
127:16 128:9	269:17	134:19 135:5	199:6 200:25
129:25 154:10	requires	135:16,18	201:2 202:16
179:22 214:18	175:10	136:3,4,7,23,24	202:18,25
represent	reread	137:2 138:5,16	203:2,13,13,18
31:6 31:11 121:13	research	139:7,8,13,18	205:7 206:18
representative	5:7 34:8 42:14	139:20 140:11	208:10,17
135:13 145:10	42:18 43:13,22	140:17 141:5,9	209:13,14,18
199:15,18,23	45:16 46:2	141:10,16	209:19 210:23
225:19 255:14	47:8,10,17,24	142:21 143:13	211:13,22
representatives	48:16 49:14	143:16 144:21	212:16 214:3
228:3	58:22 63:12	145:17 146:5	219:15 224:12
representing	67:21 70:10	146:17,24	225:17 226:11
2:7,12 8:15 9:5	76:16 77:5,19	147:3,4,7,22	226:18 227:9
represents	80:20 81:25	148:2,6,14,24	229:9 231:11
185:21 186:7	82:3 83:4	149:6 152:12	243:14,17,19
reprimanded	92:10,10 98:24	165:10 167:10	250:10,14
80:15	99:5,18,20	168:12 176:25	252:10 255:16
reproducibility	100:4,9,23	178:10 179:6	263:8 264:9,22
147:25	102:7,9,10,21	179:20,22	264:24 267:18
reputable	102:24 103:5	181:13,16	267:21 272:4
190:19	103:18,22	182:4,10,15,20	272:10,24
request	104:2,4 105:21	182:22 183:3	273:6 284:5
17:12 31:18	105:25 106:8,9	183:20,23,25	285:8,12
32:6,7,17 35:2	106:11 109:10	184:24 186:12	286:21 287:10
35:17 36:23	112:3 122:9	189:16,24	287:19 288:3
37:9 38:14	124:18,20	190:7,18,21	288:15 289:9
42:4 51:8	125:17 126:4	191:4,8,12,14	289:15 290:25

Veritext Legal Solutions

800-567-8658

973-410-4098

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[researcher - rides]

Page 57

researcher 74:3 190:22 195:24 196:7	82:20 122:25 123:9	return 296:14 returning 34:24 277:8	revoke 252:24 rewards 284:11
researcher's 72:20	26:21 30:24 31:8 41:15	reuse 90:14 91:15	ride 41:20 58:22 61:4,8 71:7 76:18
researchers 13:25 14:3,17 45:25 101:10 101:12 105:18 149:4 168:21 227:2 289:19	responsible 222:23 223:4 223:10,13	reused 90:18 revenue 258:9 review 28:4 29:8 42:6 43:6 32:16 38:13 39:4 51:8	78:16 79:3,6 80:13,17 91:19 92:10,14 94:13 94:17 97:3,8 107:18 115:3,6 115:8 116:3,24
researching 41:18	responsive 119:21	47:11 49:18	117:4,11
resentment 270:9	rest 106:6	50:13 52:8	121:25 132:3
reserved 7:21	120:16 121:15 122:19 285:6	97:24 106:10 108:10 143:5	138:22 139:2 145:20 149:16
resistance 270:9	restricted 222:13	211:17 293:21	151:19 153:12
resources 71:9	result 68:11	reviewed 28:8 40:5,16 47:13	153:17 154:18 155:4,8 156:8
respect 211:23 236:12	resulting 115:4	63:23 82:3	157:14 160:17
respective 7:19	results 125:16	92:23 124:20	178:21 192:22
respond 94:24 118:10 144:12 181:6 223:22 223:22	147:18 256:10 259:9	127:25 136:23 138:19 222:5,9 250:15 253:7	210:7 211:23 231:12,13,14 249:24 250:3 260:22
responding 118:10 119:13 121:17,19	resume 26:25 31:20	reviewer 267:22	ridehailing 33:16
response 27:15 31:23 32:15 37:8,9,13 39:3 42:2 43:5 50:23 75:17	retain 56:15 retained 21:2,4 54:19,25 55:25 56:7 57:23,25 86:5	reviewers 46:6 reviewing 214:8	riders 112:19 112:22,25
	retainer 19:15 36:4 84:18	reviews 107:10 revise 206:23 207:3	221:15 224:16 247:25 248:9 248:22 262:6
	retention 36:25 37:14,16 56:12	revision 143:3 revisitation 290:18	rides 150:5 167:22 168:16 198:4 205:9,10

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[rides - safeguards]

Page 58

210:16 225:5	93:17 96:3,15	245:13,23	220:12 289:12
225:13 231:14	97:17 98:6,25	246:2,6 247:12	room 7:6 18:4
257:6 279:16	101:22 104:5	247:20 248:10	259:2
rideshare 8:10	108:22 113:21	249:14,22	rothman
ridesharing	114:24 117:25	250:8,12,18,21	244:18 265:19
41:18 72:16	121:9 124:10	251:19 253:19	287:18 290:13
115:14 149:17	130:22 139:15	253:23 254:23	rough 294:12
150:5 151:20	139:23 140:18	255:12 257:18	294:15
153:12 154:10	140:20,21	262:23 270:5	roughly 24:3
154:18 155:4,7	142:17 144:4,9	270:12,21	55:2
155:10 156:8	146:21 147:22	278:15 279:11	round 29:8
157:5,14,22	153:3 156:17	283:7,21 284:2	54:7 83:6
riding 178:21	158:5 159:14	287:8 291:9	215:10
222:17	159:17 161:11	292:9,16	route 261:19,20
right 11:22	168:8 170:18	293:24	routes 260:23
12:5 13:5,7	173:22,22	rights 43:13	261:8,12 262:3
15:17 16:4	178:17 179:24	rigor 113:23	262:10
17:10,25 18:16	185:18 187:11	125:3 132:11	row 167:23
19:10 24:20	193:15 194:10	148:24 149:5	168:17
30:9 31:21	194:15,20	160:4 255:19	rpr 1:17 295:6
32:2 33:17	199:20,25	rigorous 46:3	295:18
35:25 36:5	200:14 201:7	106:2 125:10	rules 245:19
40:19 46:5	204:14 209:21	125:24 126:19	267:2
51:21,22 53:21	211:8,18,24	131:17 132:15	run 184:10
53:23 55:3,4	212:10,14,25	202:16,18	259:4 260:3
55:11,18 56:18	213:10 214:10	226:22 227:4	running 258:20
63:14,19,25	226:15 227:16	rigorously	runs 241:9
69:19 70:13	228:9,12,16,21	230:18	s
71:4,11,15	228:25 231:22	robin 260:9	s 2:2,16,16 3:9
74:22 75:12,18	232:19 233:6	robo 221:10	s1s 293:2
76:7 77:7 79:8	234:7 235:6	roladex 81:10	safe 44:21
79:11 80:16	236:6 237:5	role 88:5 98:8	safeguards
82:3 84:12,16	238:23 239:5	99:3 108:18	45:3
85:21 90:11	241:24 243:24	109:3 110:14	

Veritext Legal Solutions

800-567-8658

973-410-4098

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[safety - second]

Page 59

safety 68:5,8,11 82:9,11 116:23 198:14 251:10 251:14 252:13	saw 24:14 79:2 131:25 132:3 145:2 154:2 155:6 169:24	186:22 191:3 194:17 220:2 234:14 242:25 244:3 254:5	108:21 110:20 sciences 44:8 scientific 226:22 227:4 293:15
sake 181:22	255:22	266:14 268:10	scoot 12:4
salary 237:21	saying 14:16	268:19 284:9	212:5 253:15
sales 267:7	28:11 46:8	says.r1 142:25	scope 69:7
salis 137:17	64:23 68:3	scammed 80:11	score 276:6
sample 135:13 135:23 199:15 199:18 201:13 201:19 254:18 255:15	78:7,21 80:4,5 86:16 100:20 103:14,16 122:2,13 123:19 144:20	scan 26:16 scanning 26:13 scattered 53:4 schedule 72:6 72:22 73:3,8	scores 234:9 scoring 273:22 scraping 293:3 scratch 20:14 44:12 50:6 173:17 271:10
sampled 133:7 133:24,25	160:9 172:19 180:8 215:22	74:20 75:13 160:22 171:23	screen 11:21
samples 201:10	219:3 257:16	222:20 257:4	19:2,4 25:23
sampling 134:3 134:24 135:4 135:10,20 199:19,22	258:11 280:22 287:4	271:3 schedules 174:8	30:21 33:8 59:15 124:9
samplings 206:14	26:24 36:24 37:8 38:12 41:13 46:25	scheduling 71:22 72:15 171:16 172:8 172:15,18	142:11,14 157:2 159:2 162:22 210:14
san 1:4 8:13	49:21 51:18	scholar 99:18	292:7
sanctioned 67:5,12	60:24 63:11 66:8 71:20	scholars 161:13 162:5 219:5	script 206:24 scripted 65:5
satisfaction 288:19	76:12 91:17 95:16 97:9	236:2,5 244:3 244:12	scripts 267:2 scroll 27:24
satisfied 109:16	98:3,22 99:17	school 96:8 109:18	63:5,6 163:3
saturation 203:19,22,23 204:13	102:4 131:24 140:21 143:16 143:25 144:16	school's 98:4 schools 219:21 science 64:11 105:20,22	scrolling 63:6 seal 295:14 seattle 237:24 second 10:8 13:9 14:13,15 19:15,21 29:8
saval's 60:2	144:23 161:18		
save 76:13	174:5 185:10 185:11,16		

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[second - sent]

Page 60

29:13 58:24	security 44:20	177:6,9 182:12	250:14 262:7
91:9 109:2	see 10:6,9 19:3	184:13 185:2	263:22 279:14
111:15 114:11	19:5,17 25:23	185:14 186:16	282:11
114:18 122:5	26:4 27:4 28:7	187:13 188:10	sees 187:20
139:12 141:25	29:10 30:20	190:9 192:4,11	selective 14:25
143:9 170:19	31:21 32:13,20	194:3 195:25	selling 265:24
173:18 174:4	33:9 35:8,22	196:9 199:10	semi 41:17
182:13 183:7	37:6,8,10	204:18 210:10	42:12 132:24
184:16 204:15	39:13 41:8,24	213:18 218:14	133:3 177:17
234:10 240:17	42:7 50:14,21	218:21 219:6	seminar 32:9
277:9 292:10	57:8 59:16	220:3,8 223:12	semistructured
section 63:7	61:5 63:9 66:7	223:24 231:17	205:12,18
70:4 77:21,22	66:22 67:13	231:22 232:2	207:4,20
120:25 122:4,8	70:3,7 71:15	234:13 236:20	208:11,18
122:8,12,18	72:2,3,9 74:17	239:2,10 241:3	211:3 212:24
131:23 161:16	76:21 78:10,18	242:8 243:20	272:16
171:8,9,12	78:24 86:4	247:16 248:4	senate 57:6
176:18 191:2	92:19 94:9	256:14 262:18	58:10
192:7,13 212:6	99:25 100:10	263:25 268:7	senator 60:2
212:7 213:14	101:2 103:11	268:22 274:6	sense 21:15
218:11,11	108:6 120:25	283:2 284:19	24:17 51:3
233:2 239:22	121:19 122:3,7	290:15 292:7	58:17 62:17
239:23,24	122:11 123:10	293:10	105:5 135:21
240:10 264:2	124:5 126:25	seeing 215:19	174:20 212:9
268:4 270:2	131:19 139:14	seeks 42:4	248:12 264:8
282:6,22	140:15 142:13	seem 151:6	264:20 270:10
283:15 284:19	143:10,11,23	229:24 230:11	270:14,19,23
285:4,9 286:5	144:8 149:18	230:16	271:2,8,11,20
286:17,25	150:18 153:7	seems 51:9	272:2
288:5 290:16	154:3 157:4,11	seen 15:15 26:6	sensemaking
sections 216:13	159:6 160:8	26:18,19 31:3	203:9
283:5 286:11	163:14 166:3	128:8 162:25	sensors 245:17
secure 68:12	169:16 170:6	223:14,20	sent 19:13,15
71:25 171:18	171:20 174:10	224:4,7 242:5	19:25 21:9

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[sent - similar]

Page 61

36:3 54:7	181:8 224:16	209:23	281:20
sentence 64:14	242:19 271:16	sharing 44:12	showed 36:11
67:9 91:17	286:8	150:16,19	226:6
116:4 127:19	sets 181:23	151:13 155:21	showing 190:3
141:5 144:23	224:14,18	155:24 262:17	shown 126:12
144:24 164:10	setting 64:9	sharper 206:17	173:15
165:6,17 167:4	178:21 179:7	206:17	shows 149:5
170:12,13,16	266:19 267:5	sheer 208:14	231:11
170:19 171:3,4	267:13	sheet 296:7,10	shred 93:4,19
212:2 218:21	settings 83:8	296:12,15	shredded 93:13
263:6 270:7	140:15,18	298:9	shutdown
284:9 292:11	settled 95:23	shelf 221:9	132:2
292:12,19	setup 213:19	sherman	side 86:8,9,12
sentences 186:4	seven 114:3	137:18	86:17 118:9
separate 19:18	145:3 181:3	shift 170:22	165:24 170:6,6
53:8	207:3 292:24	172:19,21	siege 94:5
september	several 72:4	228:14	sign 43:19
211:11	115:3 139:16	shifting 54:18	166:19,20,23
seriously 199:6	153:11 244:19	117:21	204:12 222:3
served 11:25	245:11	shipt 86:13	250:2 289:13
110:12	severe 252:13	94:14,15,22	296:9
serves 68:5	sexual 1:7	95:5	signals 139:9
174:22 186:23	252:22	shopper 265:22	signature 12:5
service 68:5	shape 24:10	shortcut 161:9	295:18 298:12
94:2 221:18	108:5 268:10	shorter 17:17	signed 50:2
230:17 266:24	shaped 40:12	shorthand	significance
267:2 268:11	shapes 42:24	295:10	200:5,9
268:12,17	share 11:20	shortly 107:24	significant
services 71:10	13:4 25:15	243:6	163:10 166:9
157:5 221:14	46:25 49:22	shots 210:15	231:14 270:11
260:10	70:10 85:3	show 126:15	signing 296:11
set 14:3,3 31:12	shared 34:6	152:18 155:25	silence 240:8
36:14 46:7	43:23 44:2	173:16 184:15	similar 57:22
147:18 176:6	60:19 180:5	192:16 210:19	90:20 92:13,13

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[similar - sort]

Page 62

92:14 126:5	145:2 148:25	social 4:20	sorry 20:14
137:20 159:19	181:2 259:4	148:16 150:20	41:11 85:8
180:18 209:20	size 201:19	173:20 178:8	97:12 114:7
213:23 214:2	skeptical 73:14	199:8 229:6	125:22 130:10
215:25 222:14	skills 110:20,22	236:21 241:21	130:12 149:22
268:24	skim 215:2	242:5,10	154:23 157:18
similarly	skimmed 40:25	socialist 104:19	172:16 183:6
224:15 226:7	41:3 52:4	socially 149:6	271:9 280:15
simmons 2:3	227:12	242:6	294:15
9:3 54:23	skimming	societal 76:4	sort 10:22 14:8
simmonsfinal	267:25	societies 70:18	21:20 43:20
3:16	skinned 66:10	society 70:12	44:7 46:23
simmonsfirm...	skip 175:16	74:12 98:5,24	52:16 53:7
2:6	182:12 273:18	sociological	89:6 92:14
simple 54:12	skipping 240:3	130:17	119:5 120:14
219:4	268:3 273:16	sociology 97:16	121:21 126:11
single 19:19	slightly 40:21	97:23,23,24	126:12 127:2
127:23	40:21 54:19	99:19 109:24	130:6 132:9
sir 12:10 93:22	108:16 278:23	110:5	137:3 149:4
sit 105:19	slippage 160:23	solely 244:9	150:20 151:6
116:15 235:7	160:25	solid 127:3	153:10 174:23
259:2	slipped 38:6	solidness 127:7	183:16 188:21
site 13:17	slow 228:19	127:21	192:5,14,15,25
sites 139:8	small 104:21	solutions 1:21	198:7 201:10
140:9	105:13 197:15	somebody 60:4	214:3 215:2
situation 196:2	197:19	147:17 148:12	220:11 223:23
196:4,8,25	smaller 215:14	226:2 265:11	225:22 230:17
200:6 206:11	215:14 263:18	someone's 49:5	233:13 242:15
situations 55:9	smart 109:14	293:17	255:18 265:20
66:16 67:3	220:24	somewhat	269:2 276:23
237:25	smell 34:12	215:25	277:24,24
six 85:19 101:7	82:10	soon 294:14	279:15 285:5
105:15,23	smells 34:10,11	sophistication	286:3
106:4 114:3	78:7 79:18	154:12	

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[sought - stipulation]

Page 63

sought 58:18	288:15	stamp 33:6	statement 3:23
sounds 55:4	specifically	stance 178:8,12	50:8 62:16
59:24 60:6	23:16 42:3	stand 123:20	68:2 115:23
83:24 88:6	78:13,19	153:16 197:6	139:25 141:9
163:22 194:22	101:14 119:14	197:18	145:6 241:10
215:25 217:16	129:14 144:11	standalone	286:16
281:10	176:21 226:13	119:12,17	statements
source 13:23	230:24 239:10	122:20 123:5	50:16 51:5
190:19 262:5	245:5 272:18	standard 128:3	172:4
276:10	287:8	128:15 146:11	states 1:2 8:11
sources 133:11	specifics 124:6	146:12,13	113:2,8 153:11
133:19 147:13	260:17	standards	243:2
192:21,22,25	spectrum 176:3	99:22 177:3	stating 62:2
space 16:19	176:4	standing 122:7	statistical 14:5
77:10 296:7	speculate 82:14	standpoint	200:4,9
spans 20:13,16	speed 225:4	180:16	statistics
speak 44:24	277:3	start 26:20,22	200:13
86:24 120:22	speeds 246:5	39:23 109:8	status 108:4
121:8 122:10	spell 107:20	116:11 121:2	175:11
138:6	spends 277:12	131:15 185:22	stay 248:24
speaking 88:11	spent 20:21	186:12 215:6,9	stayed 207:15
92:18 111:18	23:19	265:10 276:13	staying 256:10
237:6	split 188:6,7,17	294:10	steeped 86:20
speaks 120:16	spoke 152:10	started 20:10	stenographer
specific 12:22	152:11	40:2	7:5
42:25 49:9,20	spoken 225:18	starting 52:18	stenographic
50:8 88:7	spreadsheets	215:14 283:23	7:17
89:25 100:23	215:21	285:18	step 202:5
113:15 116:8	sprouts 271:19	starts 124:7	274:24
134:5 141:17	stage 140:24	149:15 264:2	steps 292:17
183:23 196:19	stages 228:11	state 8:19 9:20	sticks 274:20
208:7 239:18	stakeholders	57:6 58:10	stipulated 7:18
242:2 280:4,25	174:6	100:13 175:19	stipulation
281:4,21 287:2		295:6 296:6	7:16 37:23

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[stipulations - supplement]

Page 64

stipulations	132:17,23,24	57:2 95:11,17	suggesting
6:13	133:3 177:17	170:23 191:4	220:10
stop 158:5	structures	279:21 296:11	suggestions
204:13 219:3	199:9	subjective	266:23
stopped 113:7	student 109:25	177:24 178:3	suing 86:12
store 265:23	students	subjectivity	suitable 144:2
stories 83:20	127:23 226:8	178:13	suited 103:19
strange 256:11	studied 23:10	subjects 43:13	summary 34:21
strategies	77:11 212:3	47:15 49:13	87:12 120:11
219:6	230:18 231:8	submit 20:3	120:12,15,21
strategy 186:24	262:24 267:17	47:9	121:4 122:14
221:20 258:23	studies 32:8	submitted	124:7 131:9
259:2,10 260:3	44:5 47:24	60:14	149:9 158:21
260:19	48:16 53:16	subscribed	177:10 292:12
strauss 183:11	100:8 108:17	298:15	summer 22:2,9
183:13 185:17	126:18 173:15	subsections	22:15,17,21
188:7,8,16,16	174:5 192:21	283:5	23:2,15 131:24
street 2:5	263:23	subsequent	132:6 154:9
133:16	study 13:11	28:12 90:15	211:5
stressing	43:19 47:9	subset 66:13	summertime
234:17	77:9 102:3,25	subsidized	21:25
strike 172:17	109:23 140:5	268:20	super 51:23
210:20	140:21,23	substance	54:11 88:6
strikes 210:19	144:2 195:5,15	298:8	superficial
strong 262:2	200:16 226:19	substantially	149:25 150:8
stronger 191:8	264:22	12:20	151:18 152:2,9
structural 73:2	study's 139:17	substantiate	152:20 153:17
74:4,6,16 75:7	studying	79:11	153:23 160:15
75:11 108:25	152:14 201:14	success 244:7	superficially
178:20 199:5	286:18	sufficient	270:10
structure	stuff 93:20	202:20 252:23	supervision
132:22	212:18	suggest 282:2	295:11
structured	subject 32:16	suggested	supplement
41:17 42:12	38:12 56:25	261:20	15:20 72:5

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[supplemental - talk]

Page 65

supplemental	229:13 238:6	sworn	9:12	tables	138:8
12:19	245:7 251:25		10:3 295:9	tacking	272:13
support	255:15 258:2		298:15	tactics	164:23
6:2 14:20,21	267:20,23,24	system	66:21		164:24
92:24 99:6	278:14		69:17 106:7	take	13:6 17:14
173:20	surface 159:16		165:2 167:12		17:16 30:10
supporting	159:23 160:2		215:8 223:15		31:7 51:4
127:19	surge 230:6		224:13 225:10		107:15 110:2
supports	surges 259:7		225:25 241:9		111:2 117:20
suppose	surprise 192:8		243:2 249:21		132:17 136:16
supposed	surprised		253:19 261:17		146:22 156:9
123:7	160:6		266:22 276:4,5		156:21 158:6
152:14 190:8	surrounding		276:8 277:20		160:19 178:19
supposedly	268:13		278:2 281:24		202:5 212:8
80:16	surveillance		283:11,17		217:12 241:25
supreme	268:13,15		290:10,14		241:25 257:12
201:15	269:4	systems	4:18		261:11 262:3
sure	survey 41:15		65:25 66:3,5		293:13,20
14:22 28:2	135:14 254:6		67:20 96:21,23	takeaways	
31:5 34:12	surveys 208:19		104:19 136:7		143:12
46:20 49:25	susceptible		142:21 143:13	taken	1:15 8:9
51:13 54:16	190:22		143:18 225:7		50:16 140:4
63:24 65:17,24	suspected		226:20 242:4		190:15 295:7
68:25 75:5	261:22 262:9		243:8 245:13	takes	156:22
79:4 86:9	suspend 249:25		277:18	talk	14:8,24
88:19 91:13,15	suspended		t		16:10,14 34:9
93:9,17 110:7	251:9		t 2:16 3:9 295:2		34:13 35:15
116:17 118:23	suspending		295:2 297:3		37:25 42:9
125:16 140:17	251:13		tab 3:12,15,18		57:3 69:7
142:25 157:12	swear 8:22		3:22 4:3,9,13		71:18 72:13
168:9 170:15	switch 26:21		4:16,20 5:3,6		73:8 80:11
183:4 186:20	switching		table 194:14		89:20 97:8,11
187:23 196:21	108:16				113:18,20
197:3 198:6					121:25 130:15
199:14 211:9					
222:10 229:11					

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[talk - terrorism]

Page 66

131:10 136:22	talking 23:3	126:3,9	temporal
160:11 168:15	31:19 58:21	teacher 132:5	169:13,14
197:14 212:22	64:6 78:12	154:8	170:20
217:2,3 226:2	83:7 85:12	teaching 101:5	temporarily
226:3,4,9,25	86:21 134:8	109:18 126:14	250:23 266:8
231:6 232:22	140:6,6 144:4	127:23 211:11	temporary
237:14 243:7	158:20 160:21	team 52:14	254:9,10
243:10 247:9	163:19 164:5	technical 58:17	ten 23:10 32:10
260:16 262:11	166:25 169:9	197:7	217:18 286:18
266:20 275:13	194:7 212:23	technique	293:4,8
275:25 276:2	217:8 219:19	183:5	tend 219:16
289:15 290:24	230:3 231:23	technologies	258:6,25
290:25	233:17 243:21	1:6 2:12	263:18
talked 36:10	270:15 280:21	technology	term 61:20
49:8 51:20	talks 13:23	74:8 108:7	150:4 154:18
54:24 55:17	97:23 98:9	115:5 193:20	155:3 157:7,21
85:17 88:3	99:7,10,13	274:12	165:13 182:5
90:5 133:16	150:23 151:4	teeth 160:5	220:6 254:9
135:20 140:7	160:10 167:10	telemetrics	287:15
148:25 154:8	173:25 212:21	225:3	terminal
168:19 172:24	225:23 226:19	tell 33:19 90:13	124:16
179:4 180:12	235:4	161:10 176:20	terminology
182:7 199:12	targeting 44:23	179:21 216:17	150:10
199:14 203:20	task 212:3	216:25 223:21	terms 56:13
204:16 207:16	taught 135:8	224:17 254:3,3	62:8,23 87:8
207:18 210:22	taxes 223:10,13	254:4 273:6,11	101:11 125:9
212:18 236:18	taxi 115:7	295:9	127:17 140:2
243:5 245:22	117:5	teller 237:13	160:23 164:22
249:9,12 250:7	taxis 115:16	telling 83:3	170:21 216:8
250:17 251:8	116:4,9,24	117:8 178:25	221:21 260:10
272:10 274:19	117:11 118:14	179:11	260:12
279:6 287:17	teach 96:13,24	tells 74:18	terrorism
288:25 290:18	97:19,22,25	75:12	110:9
290:22	98:13 124:17		

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[terrorist - think]

Page 67

terrorist 110:9	theme 147:13	theory 101:16	149:23 178:15
test 102:22	themes 206:6	103:7 104:13	197:9 200:16
104:13,21	theocratical	104:13,15,19	207:10 214:6
105:3,24 186:8	204:12	105:4,11,25	246:14 253:25
tested 182:5	theologizing	106:22 111:16	259:16 263:5
185:24	13:23	130:21 134:21	278:20 286:13
testified 9:13	theoretical	138:6 181:13	289:5 293:10
35:7 55:8 56:2	102:23 108:13	181:20 182:15	things 12:24,25
56:5,9 87:10	134:3,24	182:24 183:5,8	38:24 52:19
testifying 10:3	135:20 186:25	183:17,20,21	82:15 87:7
56:21 58:12	199:19,21	183:22 185:11	89:20,25 99:11
testimony 4:9	203:19,21,23	185:16,20	105:24 108:3
17:8 35:10	206:14 227:6	186:23 187:2,3	116:8,19 119:6
55:17,21 57:4	234:16 235:3	187:6 188:13	131:5,9,11
57:12,19,24	239:22,25	189:2,3,8,9,10	134:16 148:23
58:20,25 59:19	240:10 270:18	189:14,15,20	155:5 175:12
60:13,15 77:15	289:23	189:22 190:13	177:6 187:24
83:8,11 85:13	theoretically	197:5,17	202:7,14
128:16 169:25	133:7,23,25	213:24 214:7	206:14 208:7
171:7,7 228:3	243:17 275:18	230:20 233:20	208:20 212:23
295:9,12	289:6,20	234:15,19	215:18 223:5
testing 102:14	theories 102:12	235:2,4,9	225:6 232:23
103:23 187:4	102:13,14	269:16,16	235:12 241:14
259:21	103:13,20	272:14 275:25	243:13 246:12
tests 14:5 259:4	104:3 106:13	276:15 281:22	247:5 273:7,9
text 22:14	106:23 185:23	287:23	278:25 287:16
texts 53:16	190:7 216:18	thereof 295:13	293:10
textual 213:21	theorists 184:7	thereto 39:9	think 12:19
thank 29:22	theorize 164:19	thing 51:22	13:10,21 14:7
91:5 94:2,6	165:9 166:2	60:16 63:19	15:10 26:8
218:8 294:4	293:17	73:9 86:22	28:17 29:3,6
thanks 12:21	theorizing	99:12 115:18	29:14 33:23
146:15	92:11 135:24	116:12 123:20	40:5,7,8 48:11
		124:9 127:22	54:22,24 55:14

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[think - three]

Page 68

57:16,21 58:6	143:4 145:2,16	230:19 232:7	284:8 288:17
58:7,15 59:18	146:23 147:5	232:13,21	288:24 289:10
60:8 61:14,19	147:22 151:2	233:4 235:8	third 111:15
61:20,23,25	151:17,25	236:22 237:5	115:9 240:21
62:15,22,23	153:21 155:17	238:13 241:16	thirds 254:7,20
63:19 64:19	160:16,24	242:24 243:5	255:3,9
65:4,8,13 68:4	164:12,20,22	244:25 245:3	thirty 296:16
68:10 69:19,19	166:14 168:10	249:13 251:4	thoroughly
72:24 79:20	168:15 170:5	251:21 252:2,6	40:6
80:2 81:11,19	170:12,17	252:12 254:14	thou 49:21
81:22,23 82:7	171:4 172:25	255:6,16,21,24	thought 8:25
82:14 83:15	173:6,24 175:9	256:25 257:5	15:16 52:15,20
86:21,21 87:4	175:11,21	258:5,6 260:2	80:8 107:4
87:21,23,25	178:6,14,15,16	260:15,21	130:13 153:2
89:19 90:5	180:22,25	261:3 263:5,18	192:8 194:5
92:9 95:25	181:4,11	264:9,23	196:24 219:22
101:24 102:8	182:14,24	265:21 267:19	252:9 280:20
102:19 104:5	191:18,23,25	270:25 271:4	284:13 285:5
105:2,9,13	192:3 193:7,19	275:4,13	289:21
106:9,22 107:6	193:21,23	278:11 279:4	thoughtful
109:8,15 110:3	195:14 197:2,9	279:25,25	219:20
110:4,24	197:13,14	282:3 285:16	thoughts
112:24 113:7,8	198:13,18	286:3 293:9	155:18 285:13
113:14 116:16	199:13 200:21	thinking 23:12	thousands
117:11,18	202:19 203:7	24:13 34:8	42:22
118:3,13 119:4	207:2 208:21	54:2 63:18	threat 66:18
119:11 121:21	209:8 211:10	109:13 134:13	67:16,18 181:7
128:23,24	212:8 213:7,8	137:7 145:7	threaten 48:4
129:21,22	214:10 215:3,3	153:7 154:4	threats 181:6
130:16,20	216:12 217:10	190:6 192:15	three 36:22
131:9,12,25	217:14 219:25	211:15 215:7	48:12 87:18
134:15 135:2	220:13 225:15	216:19 226:18	203:5,10 206:2
136:13 138:10	227:11,24	230:19 232:8	206:6 212:6
138:18 141:20	228:8 229:5,13	233:23 234:23	

Veritext Legal Solutions

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HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[threshold - triangulation]

Page 69

threshold	timing	topics	
200:11	170:21 172:19,20	88:12,21 89:5,11,16	49:7 296:17,18
threw	title	95:7 96:17	transcription
152:18	24:21 25:3	99:14	295:11 298:6
tighter	157:4,5 247:7	totally	transcriptions
140:12	253:17	54:21	41:14 50:18
time	titled	82:22 123:9	transcripts
7:22 10:24	24:18	189:5	46:7 272:11
11:8 20:20	25:3,25 118:24	touch	transfer
21:14 23:10,13	today	89:18	146:8
23:18 29:18	9:4 10:3	touching	transferability
35:19 36:13	12:12 17:8,21	80:3	139:21
47:7 61:7 66:9	26:7 117:23	toward	transferable
68:16 71:3	199:13 201:7	143:16	140:8
75:3 80:2 84:3	250:12	204:8 205:25	transition
84:9 88:17	today's	278:24	180:11
93:12 109:12	18:13	towards	translate
110:13 118:21	230:11	228:15	147:4
141:13 144:17	together	trace	translation
150:21 154:7	53:9	134:12	147:22
154:23 155:18	233:24 244:19	track	transparent
156:4 157:15	told	36:16	229:21
158:9,15	40:17	38:6 41:7,12	transportation
168:18 187:22	took	246:14	220:18
188:23 196:6	11:3 80:14	trackers	travel
202:3 204:17	84:5 110:4,4	245:17	116:21
216:9 217:12	158:11 217:23	tracking	treatises
217:21 218:3	262:9 291:15	245:25 247:23	53:17
225:6 265:25	tool	248:5 249:3	tree
277:13 291:13	242:7	tracks	223:25
291:20 294:4,9	tools	32:6	trees
295:8	238:17	traditional	223:20
timeframe	269:4	71:25 171:19	trial
21:18,23	top	trained	7:22 12:16
timeline	80:22 102:2	209:19	15:21 53:18,20
210:23	102:5 146:21	training	135:16
times	169:5 174:4	41:20	triangulation
148:12	178:17 206:5	93:16	147:7,9,10,23
168:12 250:12	207:7 236:18	tranche	191:6 201:7,9
	254:24	204:2	201:22 202:6
	topic	transcribed	202:11,12,17
	127:18	295:10	
	156:8 195:5	transcribing	
	288:2	61:8	
		transcript	
		43:2	
		45:22 48:17,21	

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[tricky - uber]

Page 70

tricky 72:19 89:4 257:2	164:19 166:2 166:18 168:22	183:19 186:4,4 188:17 193:17	23:10 34:10 40:18 44:22
triggers 215:21	193:10 200:19	200:10 202:7	55:10 61:20
trip 174:2 197:3	201:18 211:9 212:17 213:15	231:11 233:24 235:3 237:4	78:12,17,20,23 80:8 85:25
trouble 81:16	220:7 234:18	239:4,11 254:7	86:3,13 87:10
true 57:15 72:8 80:17 89:22 93:10 112:10 163:20 164:8 168:10,13,14 169:3 172:25 173:7 234:21 259:25,25 260:18 263:4 267:7,10 295:11	247:6,8 255:24 257:2 279:18 281:9 284:24 290:2	254:20 255:3,9 283:4,5,24 285:10	87:15 88:21 90:10 91:23 92:6,13,18
type 43:9 49:13	turn 154:17	77:19 108:14	93:11 97:12 107:18 111:19
	155:3 188:22 231:15	117:14 127:13	118:9,14 122:2
	turning 131:14	134:11 141:9	150:6,17,22
	turnover	149:5 182:21	151:5 163:12
	231:16	183:2,3 193:9	163:12,21
	tuskegee 43:15	202:24 203:2	169:3 173:8
	twice 77:14	224:2 266:25	175:18 193:20
	165:16	274:21	195:18,24
	two 13:2,5,7	types 71:11	197:10,11
	14:10 15:14	98:11 177:21	201:23 202:22
	18:4 29:10	193:16 195:10	204:17 215:4
	30:4 31:14	232:23 236:13	218:23,25
	36:2,6,21 40:2	236:16 237:7	219:3,7,11,16
	62:24 76:15	typo 29:11,22	219:18,25,25
	83:9 85:17	34:2	220:17,23,24
	86:24 87:18	u	221:4 222:3,13
	125:6 126:14	u 107:21	223:21,22
	135:9 140:23	u.s. 110:16	225:19,22
	156:9,21,23	211:7,13	226:8,9 227:2
	164:9 165:5	213:25	227:8,18 228:3
	172:4 177:20	uber 1:6 2:12	229:17 230:24
	178:23 179:7	8:10 9:8,9	232:23 236:12
	179:21,22	13:25 14:2,24	237:15,20
			238:9,16,19

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[uber - use]

Page 71

239:23 241:5,8 241:8 242:12 242:18 243:11 245:5 247:18 249:16 254:13 255:23 256:17 258:8 259:15 261:16 262:3,8 262:21 263:15 263:17 264:13 264:14 268:19 269:12,17 273:8 276:4,7 281:23 282:22 283:5,11 286:18 287:14 287:14 288:13 292:4,22 293:2 uber's 223:14 251:13 254:22 258:9 276:3 283:16 uber's 253:18 uc 107:19 uh 16:8,8,8 29:12 142:22 143:7 144:19 174:11 284:21 uk 213:25 ultimately 278:2 unaware 249:19 260:17	unclear 165:7 uncomfortable 188:23 under 10:3 28:4,8 94:5 123:12 167:11 175:19 295:11 undergrad 110:3,6,19 undergraduate 108:19 109:24 underlining 219:17 underneath 241:9 270:17 understand 10:2 14:13 17:4 38:17 44:11 46:6 56:14 58:15 60:12 65:12 69:8,25 74:12 89:4,9 105:9 136:13 145:11 150:4 155:21 166:4 176:16 178:11 184:14 187:6 188:14 189:7 202:10 213:15 220:13 234:18 240:11 281:10 understanding 43:12 51:14	69:23 110:22 115:14,25 118:5 128:25 149:25 150:8 151:18 152:20 153:17,23,25 159:8,16,23 160:2,15,25 180:5 189:8 220:10 294:11 understandings 178:24 understands 182:9 understood 10:10 16:23 24:17 62:5 90:7 91:13,16 282:18 unequivocal 167:25 unfair 251:22 252:4 unfairly 78:4 78:22 unfold 136:8 unique 265:2 uniquely 265:16 unit 8:7 24:4 84:10 158:17 218:5 united 1:2 8:11 113:2,8 243:2	universe 56:3 university 50:3 96:9 97:16 unobservable 260:24 261:9 unpleasant 228:24 unpredictable 230:6 244:9 unsubstantiat... 78:6,14 79:22 81:5 unusual 109:7 updated 27:20 28:19 29:15 31:25 updating 24:10 upsell 265:25 upset 261:23 262:6 upsetting 83:16 upwork 212:4 263:13 264:13 264:14 usage 241:2 283:10 use 18:13 44:14 53:18,20 61:18 63:17,20,24 64:13,19 65:7 73:13,14 74:21 100:8 102:24 130:21 136:22 138:9 143:21
---	---	--	---

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[use - view]

Page 72

147:6 151:12	154:6,9 155:7	variance	119:19 143:2,6
155:3 157:21	163:24 164:2,8	135:19 200:3	194:5 233:14
161:2,5 165:12	174:17 210:13	201:4	versions 45:12
166:6 174:18	214:7 259:11	various 76:17	48:5 228:6
174:19 175:23	259:18	veena 107:13	versus 24:2
183:4,8 190:24	usually 143:2	108:14 118:13	41:4 86:20
213:23 221:21	207:2	242:14	87:5 94:14
234:22 261:16	utilize 222:13	vegetables	101:20 113:24
261:17 262:24	utilized 52:24	271:22	117:11 135:11
265:4 269:3,13	242:12	vehicle 116:20	136:3 138:12
269:18 270:2	v	116:21	156:8 178:18
271:17	v 218:11	vehicles 115:8	180:13 200:3
used 33:25	vague 134:8	246:5	264:19 285:2
111:19 130:25	valid 46:2	veins 235:3	vested 276:9
150:5 151:5	validate 104:3	vendor 115:9	vetchky 208:2
155:9 160:2	validity 131:18	veneer 152:5,8	vice 237:10
165:16 177:22	148:24 185:20	152:19	video 8:8 10:24
188:15 197:10	192:14 255:19	verbal 16:7	11:7 50:19
197:11 198:8	valuable	verification	84:3,9 158:9
213:4 214:2	195:25	65:16 66:3,4	158:15 217:21
220:6 221:19	value 75:22	66:12 68:4,12	218:3 291:13
234:16 248:6	228:16 230:19	69:9 187:4	291:19 294:9
268:16 269:8	247:4 259:17	189:10 245:23	videographer
296:19	293:13	verified 185:25	2:18 8:3,16
uses 14:24 15:2	valued 102:13	186:8	10:23 11:6
148:12 154:18	values 103:17	verify 68:21	84:2,8 158:8
157:6 165:5	242:5,11	69:4	158:14 217:20
169:12 254:8	vanderbrand	verifying	218:2 291:12
282:22	138:24	189:15 245:20	291:18 294:8
using 74:10	variability	veritext 1:21	videos 266:24
100:4 101:19	184:12	8:15,17	videotaped
108:15 125:9	variables 108:3	versa 237:10	26:2 30:25
127:7 129:21	108:6 243:7	version 11:24	view 70:16
130:2 150:19		12:2 29:17	102:16 118:16

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[view - window]

Page 73

118:25 154:16	91:2,12,15	132:11 145:9	we've 83:7,8
162:4 176:10	96:2 109:15	145:19 148:7	99:14 144:4
177:7 190:8	123:2 136:14	152:2 160:3,4	156:2 199:12
218:24 219:11	142:24 143:8	160:10,11,14	212:18,23
220:17,20	160:20 166:17	164:11 165:8	219:18 250:11
244:21 278:19	170:12,15	174:17 176:5	weak 125:20,23
293:10	171:18 178:14	182:14 184:7	wear 65:19
viewpoints	184:13 187:21	188:14,18,19	web 293:3
247:9	195:13 199:17	188:20 189:20	website 28:20
violations	202:25 215:21	189:25 190:12	29:16 30:4
198:14 252:13	217:17 228:2	190:14 191:7	57:13,17 59:25
virtual 22:23	230:4 250:22	191:11,12	60:2,8,10,20
virtually 91:20	261:12 264:6,7	192:15,15,25	wednesday
virtues 170:2	264:20 267:8	214:10 217:6	1:16 8:5
visual 210:21	277:4 292:5	224:20 226:22	weeks 15:14
vitae 26:25	wanted 51:13	229:22 236:8	204:3
voice 49:5	118:13 193:13	239:20 242:19	weighing 247:3
volume 108:12	wants 152:6	248:20 252:7	welcome 11:10
243:6,10	washington	257:10 260:14	84:12 158:19
vote 101:4	2:10 41:21	261:19 270:8	218:7
w			
wage 242:21	131:24	271:21 273:19	weng 185:4
wait 163:20	water 74:6	274:13 275:2	went 24:13
204:24	way 15:2 27:8	275:15 286:16	68:19 94:4
waitlisting	28:6 42:21	286:22	160:18 204:6
254:10	46:15 48:10,18	ways 14:18	216:14 274:18
waive 7:13	49:6 51:9	63:12 68:10	west 180:25
waiver 43:18	55:15 61:18	113:15 126:8	wharton 96:8
want 10:18	65:4 68:21	164:9 165:6,9	whitman 203:8
13:4 40:4 52:6	69:10 72:25	172:22 189:21	wide 101:4
54:12 61:17	79:11 82:15	206:23 210:24	widely 150:5
71:24 72:9	83:17 93:25	219:25 225:2	widen 195:25
86:23 89:4	96:2 104:5,10	248:5,8,11	wild 180:24
	113:17,20	256:4 260:24	window 23:13
	129:21 131:10	261:8,18,25	

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[winning - work]

Page 74

winning 105:18	166:12 167:20	won 114:3	161:2 179:12
witness 6:4	169:22 170:5	136:24 138:19	270:18
8:22 10:14,18	173:10 175:8	wondered	work 12:24
21:25 22:9	178:2 179:4	251:5	20:4,5 21:21
25:9 26:12	180:10 181:18	wondering	22:6,17 23:22
29:21 33:22	182:7,18 186:3	118:25	25:9 33:15,24
40:24 42:16	186:11 187:8	woods 2:16	34:13,14 41:20
43:11 45:14,21	187:11,19,21	word 63:20,20	49:8 61:2,15
46:20 47:7	189:12 190:24	63:25,25 64:15	62:3 63:8,13
48:8,24 49:24	193:7 195:3	64:19 67:4	70:5,11,17,24
56:8,14 61:11	196:16 202:2	109:2 138:14	71:11 72:11,12
62:12 64:18	202:24 217:15	147:6,12	75:22 77:9
65:7 68:7,15	217:19 220:20	148:12 150:19	78:5 79:22
68:25 72:18	221:3,17 223:2	151:13,25	87:8 92:12
73:16,21 75:2	224:23 229:19	154:10 155:7	96:13,23,25
75:17 79:14	233:22 235:17	155:10 159:4	105:22 107:9
81:8 82:13	238:5 244:16	160:3 163:24	107:12,14
83:24 88:16,25	246:17 248:4	164:2,8 165:5	108:5 110:23
90:18 94:6	248:16,24	165:16 169:11	110:24 112:8
95:10 102:18	251:25 252:17	169:12 190:25	128:11 130:9
103:16 104:8	253:2 255:6	192:18 221:18	136:6 137:14
104:12 106:18	256:25 258:2	228:23,25	146:23 148:20
107:4 111:25	261:14 269:21	229:4 234:22	148:20 155:11
115:18 118:20	271:14 275:4	256:19,20	157:24 160:18
119:4,16,25	275:22 277:16	259:17,22	160:21 161:2
120:9 122:23	278:11 279:23	263:10,11	164:22,24
124:2,25 126:7	281:4 284:8	292:20	174:8,21 192:6
128:6 129:4,24	288:17 294:6	worded 66:24	195:18 199:16
131:3 132:21	295:12,14	68:18	202:20 204:21
136:20 137:6	296:2	wording	222:19 227:7
138:2 141:20	witnesses 16:16	153:22	235:10,12
150:13 151:22	women 80:3	words 61:18	238:18 240:20
153:21 154:22	women's 33:15	64:13 65:8	242:14,16
158:7 162:10		138:10 147:2	244:23 256:11

Veritext Legal Solutions

800-567-8658

973-410-4098

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL - ATTORNEYS EYES ONLY

[work - wyatt]

Page 75

256:17 257:17	173:5 174:20	276:2,14,20	written 11:22
257:21,24	176:11 196:2	277:9	46:23 60:15,19
258:13,16	199:7 218:18	works 16:7	116:5 117:10
262:12 263:20	219:8 221:22	60:13 104:19	117:14 118:14
264:18 273:21	228:15 235:13	156:10 222:20	124:19 150:25
273:23,23,25	237:7,9 239:16	225:20 256:5	157:9 167:13
273:25 275:2	242:20,21	281:23 282:2	177:16 236:7
279:7,10,20	244:8 245:18	world 113:6	241:20 244:19
280:9 285:2	246:5 249:19	240:19	255:22 262:23
286:14 287:7	251:18 256:7	worlds 109:19	264:21 286:17
287:13 290:12	256:10,17	wow 233:22	286:22 287:11
290:21	258:20 259:12	write 70:10,21	wrong 61:13
worked 21:16	260:4,11,16	99:7 115:2	66:25 76:7
21:17 55:5	262:15 263:12	119:20 124:11	80:14,14 91:10
110:16 152:24	266:16 268:20	139:16 144:24	130:22 149:23
153:10 159:21	270:5,10,22	148:19,21	150:11,14
206:12 209:13	271:6 273:23	149:10 159:3	179:24 251:22
worker 87:25	274:3,5,9,13,25	169:10 192:5	252:4 263:6
144:7 199:6	276:9 278:4	199:4 213:22	wrote 22:14
245:20 265:6	282:24 284:12	216:11 231:10	71:13 127:10
265:11 270:9	293:12	245:11 256:6	233:15 236:24
275:2,11,20	workforce	259:2 260:21	264:12
276:22 277:11	60:25	264:25 273:19	wyatt 2:9 3:6
277:12	working 20:21	286:24	9:6,6,17 10:20
worker's	61:3 132:2	writer 179:11	11:9,18 18:24
161:21	133:12 154:9	writes 203:10	22:4,10 25:11
workers 61:23	160:7 180:4	writing 24:7,13	25:13,21 26:15
61:25 66:18,20	204:21 240:4	43:2 153:14	27:6,14 29:24
67:17 70:6,12	255:23 273:7	157:15 211:16	30:7,11,19
70:18 74:5	287:14	214:17 215:15	33:4 34:15
83:16 87:24	workplace	216:10 229:3	38:3,8,9 40:22
115:24 122:3	137:8,8,12	232:8 249:13	41:6,9,10 43:4
139:5 165:21	140:7,8 145:20	writings 38:12	44:9 45:6,9,17
169:14 172:20	145:22 275:14	79:3 249:7	46:4,21 48:3

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973-410-4098

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[wyatt - ö]

Page 76

48:20 49:15	158:4,18	289:25 291:7	291:5 294:6,14
50:4 54:10,14	162:12,14,21	294:3,14	year 21:11 99:4
54:17 56:17	162:24 164:15	x	111:13,15
59:4,11,13	167:5 168:5	x 3:2,9 134:7,7	years 23:11
61:12 62:14	169:23 170:9	134:14,15,17	32:10 35:4
65:2,10 68:9	173:13,17,19	134:20 192:9	109:11 152:13
68:17 69:18	175:3,13	257:11	152:25 159:22
73:11,18,23	177:14 178:4	y	203:6,10
75:4,19 79:16	179:25 180:20	y 192:10	229:24 230:9
82:5,17 83:22	182:2,11,23	yeah 10:12,14	259:4 285:19
83:25 84:11	184:22 186:5	10:16 28:10,19	286:18 292:25
85:2 88:18	186:18 187:14	29:12 31:6	293:4,8
89:2 90:22	189:4,17	41:2,6 49:24	yep 194:11
91:6 93:24	191:15 193:11	50:11 54:14	198:25 270:6
94:8 95:15,19	195:19 196:20	58:16 67:15	yeses 16:8
98:21 103:10	202:4 203:16	71:17 86:21	yesterday
103:25 104:9	217:10,17	114:20 116:15	28:17 30:4
105:7 106:12	218:6 219:13	141:14 153:4	135:9
106:20 107:8	220:22 221:12	154:5 155:16	york 98:24
112:4 114:8,17	221:23 223:7	157:18 158:4	237:24
116:6 118:22	223:17 224:24	161:9 163:5	youtube 266:24
119:10,18	230:21 233:25	182:12 197:9	z
120:3,23	235:23 238:11	201:20 211:10	zones 256:8
121:12 123:8	244:24 246:19	211:18 216:18	zoom 1:15
124:4 125:21	248:7,18 249:5	217:15 220:25	ö
127:5 128:13	252:11,19	221:4 228:22	ö 193:17
129:6 130:4	253:4 255:11	232:3,21,24	
131:7 132:25	257:14 258:17	235:7,12 245:6	
136:25 137:22	262:4 269:23	249:15 257:21	
139:10 141:22	271:24 275:6	263:4 279:12	
142:3,10,12	277:6 278:5,17	280:18 284:15	
151:15 152:22	280:14 281:7	288:4,8 289:24	
154:15,24	282:9,13,16,20	290:13,20	
156:6,17,19	282:21 284:16		

Federal Rules of Civil Procedure

Rule 30

(e) Review By the Witness; Changes.

(1) Review; Statement of Changes. On request by the deponent or a party before the deposition is completed, the deponent must be allowed 30 days after being notified by the officer that the transcript or recording is available in which:

(A) to review the transcript or recording; and

(B) if there are changes in form or substance, to sign a statement listing the changes and the reasons for making them.

(2) Changes Indicated in the Officer's Certificate.

The officer must note in the certificate prescribed by Rule 30(f)(1) whether a review was requested and, if so, must attach any changes the deponent makes during the 30-day period.

DISCLAIMER: THE FOREGOING FEDERAL PROCEDURE RULES ARE PROVIDED FOR INFORMATIONAL PURPOSES ONLY. THE ABOVE RULES ARE CURRENT AS OF APRIL 1, 2019. PLEASE REFER TO THE APPLICABLE FEDERAL RULES OF CIVIL PROCEDURE FOR UP-TO-DATE INFORMATION.

VERITEXT LEGAL SOLUTIONS

COMPANY CERTIFICATE AND DISCLOSURE STATEMENT

Veritext Legal Solutions represents that the foregoing transcript is a true, correct and complete transcript of the colloquies, questions and answers as submitted by the court reporter. Veritext Legal Solutions further represents that the attached exhibits, if any, are true, correct and complete documents as submitted by the court reporter and/or attorneys in relation to this deposition and that the documents were processed in accordance with our litigation support and production standards.

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